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COUNTERSpy

The Magazine For People Who Need To Know

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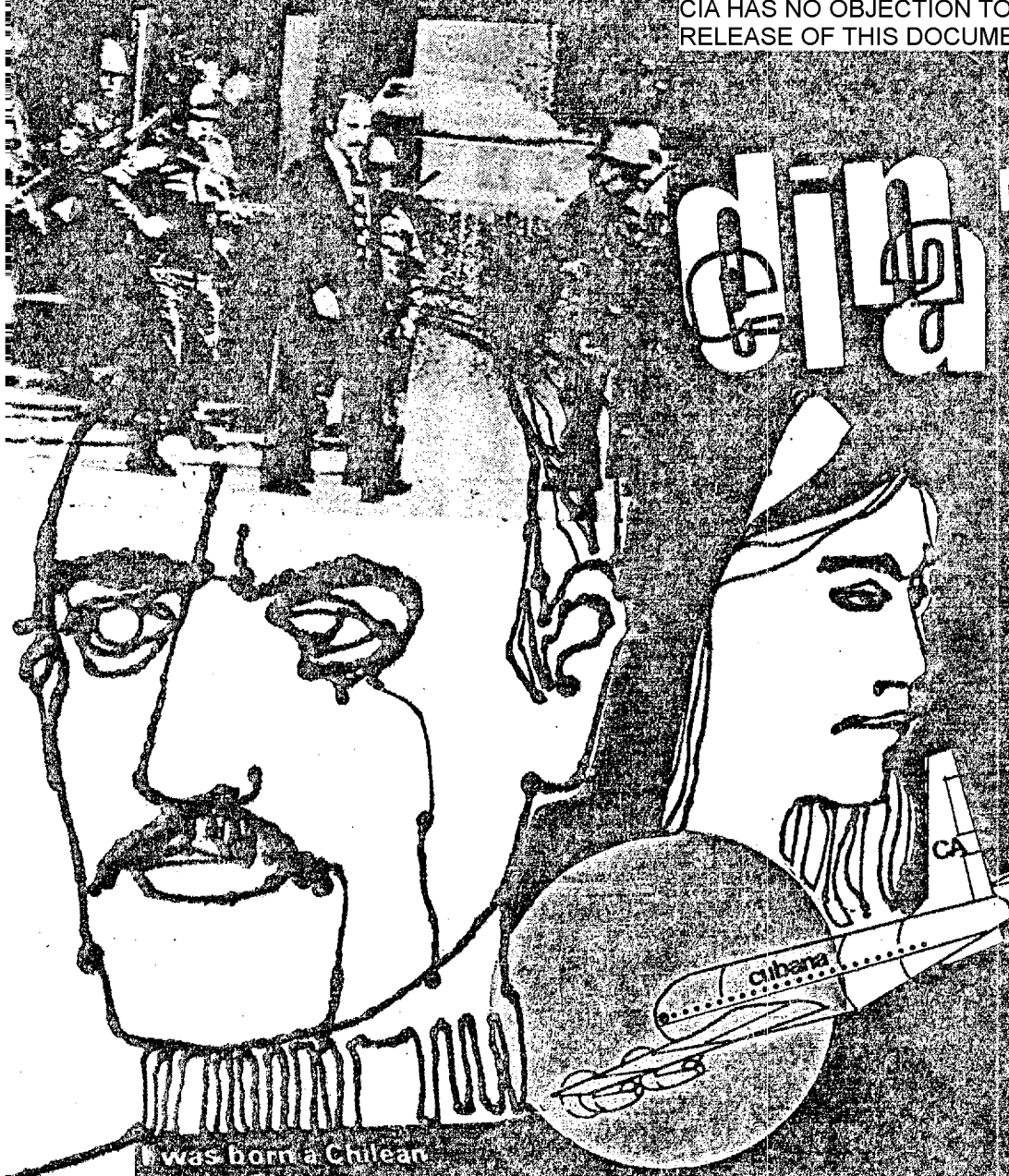

CIA Henchmen Carry Out Murder Policy in Nation's Capital

Jamaican "Werewolf" Coup Aborted

Earthquake Warfare

She Bugged My Typewriter By Philip Agee

"Bloody Wednesday" in Bangkok

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Viet Nam War Atrocities

CBS Aids Pentagon Cover-Up

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From Our Readers

On the evening of Sept. 10, just prior to an overflow rally at the Felt Forum in New York on behalf of the restoration of human rights in Chile, I chatted with a dear friend and fellow humanist, Orlando Letelier, former Chilean ambassador to the United States and an opponent of the junta.

He complained how on that very day the Chilean junta had withdrawn his Chilean citizenship. And, in response, I told him how such a deprivation, coming from the junta, should be considered as a great tribute to him. He simply smiled and nodded his head. We then chatted with mutual friends and I looked forward to accepting his invitation to visit him soon in Washington.

Later that evening, at the close of his speech to the rally, Letelier emotionally but with the utmost sincerity declared: "Today is a dramatic day in my life in which action of the fascist generals against me makes me feel more Chilean than ever.

"I was born a Chilean, I am a Chilean and I will die a Chilean. They, the fascists, were born traitors, live as traitors and will be remembered forever as fascist traitors."

How logical then—if monsters can claim to use logic—for the junta to take the next step in eliminating what they considered dangerous opposition to their cruel and inhuman regime. Thus on Sept. 21, the Chilean junta, acting through their secret police—DINA—murdered Orlando Letelier—just as they murdered Gen. Carlos Prats in Argentina and many others in Italy and elsewhere who were "graciously" allowed to leave Chile after months of torture and imprisonment.

With the cynicism typical of their rule, they promptly denied any involvement in Letelier's murder. Moreover, with crocodile tears they even "lamented" the assassination of a man for whom they so recently issued a decree depriving him of his Chilean citizenship. Obviously, in their diabolic reasoning they feel they can more easily escape indictment for the deaths and disappearance of the former democratically elected leaders and members of the Popular Unity party if these individuals are done away with outside Chile instead of by the "on the spot" murders and "disappearances" which have been going on in that tragic country since Sept. 11, 1973.

If there is any forthrightness and "Founding Father" greatness in either of our present presidential candidates, I believe that now is the time for their platforms to include specific proposals for doing away with this monstrous terror that is spreading throughout all of Latin America. We now all know it was aided and abetted by deliberate acts of the Nixon administration and the CIA—an attitude that is still being supported covertly and overtly by the Ford administration, and many in the business world and the banking community. This growing cancer in the western hemisphere will surely destroy not only our Latin American brothers and sisters, but also our America—just as our policy in Vietnam came close to doing.

Now is the time—now before our November election—for our next President to obtain his mandate from the American people to correct the evil that we have wrought; to state his intent to go before the United Nations and there openly acknowledge, with all the honesty that should characterize America, our government's part in stealing away the Chilean government from the Chilean people and our anxiety to make amends and enable restitution.

Our next President should also commit the United States to supporting all possible U.N. sanctions, including the ouster of the present Chilean regime from that body, to bring about the regime's downfall; he should insist that this regime be succeeded by a caretaker body in the hands of the democratically elected Popular Unity party and that early elections be held under U.N. supervision and the constitutional laws that prevailed prior to the 1973 putsch, and he should pledge our willingness to help a democratic Chile recover from its present state of economic chaos.

By taking such a stand, this country would once again demonstrate to the world community of nations that America is still capable of exercising the high ideals and purposes of democracy upon which our nation was founded.

In the hearts of his many admirers in this country and Chile, Orlando Letelier has not died. In history, Letelier, his former president, Salvador Allende Gossens, and the many Chilean heroes who worked and died with them to bring political and economic freedom to the Chilean people will live on forever. The members of the junta and those who assisted in establishing that junta must surely, soon we hope, share the fate of Hitler, Mussolini, and all their ilk.

A.J. Rosenstein
New Marlborough, MA

About four years ago I worked with the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars to write a pamphlet called *The Opium Trail*. In it, we accused the CIA of purposefully aiding the opium heroin trade in order to build the economic dependence of allied mercenary forces and tribal groupings in Laos. I talked personally with one ex-green Beret who said he delivered CIA gold to village chiefs and loaded opium on Air America planes and helicopters. He also said he later saw the same opium (village markings) on the Saigon market. I believe Alan Ginsberg has names of other G.I.s who had similar experiences.

Around the time I was working on the pamphlet, I thought of starting an organization to research and expose the CIA. I am very happy to find you proceeding with much effectiveness. My best wishes. Thank you for your efforts!

C. Knight
Cambridge, MA

Your Spring 1976 issue is just great; congratulations on your good work.

One little addendum to the information on Larry McDonald: I was traveling from Miami to New York in early May and noticed an item in either a Georgia (Athens) or Tennessee (also Athens) paper that he remarried, and his new wife, whose name I forget, from Glendale, California, is a long-

see inside back cover

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"Should the practice
of Spydom become universal
farewell to all
domestic confidence and happiness."

London Times
Christmas 1859

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COUNTERSPY

The Magazine For People Who Need To Know

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COMMENT

Them . . .

Throughout the last five administrations, the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency have been at war with Cuba. It has not been the war of Vietnam, nor of Angola or the Middle East. It has been a secret war, and for the past eight years, one of Henry Kissinger's favorite battlegames. Whether the new administration will have the sense or the courage or the strength to end this war remains to be seen. During the recent presidential campaign, the reality was well hidden, and only glimpses of that secret war came into focus from time to time.

But with the assassination of Orlando Letelier in Washington, and the bombing in the Caribbean of a *Cubana Airlines* plane, the war escalated, and the tangled, convoluted web was exposed, interweaving the U.S. intelligence apparatus, the right-wing Cuban expatriots--the *gusanos*, the Chilean Junta, and the transnational forces of destabilization. Caught in the web are the banished Chilean exiles, the brave Cuban people, and progressive forces everywhere.

People in power have never given up their power without a fight. As the age of capitalism gives way to the age of socialism, the struggle heightens at points of transition. And social progress is not smooth; while there are victories in Vietnam and Angola, there are tragedies in Chile and Thailand. The United States is always involved. The sphere of North American counterrevolution is world-wide.

As we demonstrate in this issue of *CounterSpy*, there is a special emphasis now on Latin America and Africa. In the three years since the CIA-engineered coup in Chile, the southern cone of our hemisphere has become an international testing ground for militaryputschesbreeding fascism: The multi-national corporations, the military dictatorships, and the fascist parties are all at work with U.S. technological help. Our articles on Chile and Argentina show something of the scope of these activities.

The other major focus of current U.S. involvement, southern Africa, is represented by the revealing description of events surrounding the status of Namibia, as documented in the confidential U.N. memorandum reprinted here, and in a critique of an early, secret Kissinger study of southern Africa, still being implemented.

Providing a link between the two fronts is Jamaica, a Caribbean land with a deep African heritage, which is the current target of a major destabilization effort, comparable to Chile and much of Latin America. Woven through all these events is a common thread: the U.S. government's psychopathic fear of Cuba, as evidenced by the preposterous assertion that Fidel Castro may have been responsible for the assassination of John F. Kennedy.

The struggle of course is global. This issue of *CounterSpy* also provides some exclusive details of U.S. war crimes in Vietnam, exposed by Anthony Herbert, as well as an analysis of the repressive and reactionary developments in Germany and Thailand. Even though we limit our coverage to the incredible transgressions of the U.S. intelligence community and those they have trained, there is no lack of material.

. . . and Us

Readers of *CounterSpy* will notice some changes, beyond the lateness of this issue. We have decided to attempt an expansion; we want to reach more people. We have incorporated, increased production, and modified our resources to present tighter, more comprehensive coverage Our staff has changed somewhat, with some former members of the old Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate going on to other things. Now we will draw on the vast skills and knowledge of our contributing editors and advisors, as we have done in this issue. Future issues will carry more of their own analyses of national security issues, as well as those written by independent journalists. We hope our readers will approve and welcome the new *CounterSpy*.

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TRENDS

Levi Threatens U.S.

Human Events, a conservative national weekly, has concluded that U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi is a threat to our internal security. In the September 25 issue it accused him of weakening our republic by ordering the FBI to stop illegal burglaries, stop infiltration of political parties, and stop COINTELPRO-type sabotage, particularly against the Socialist Workers Party. The *Human Events* article encouraged the Attorney General to allow the FBI to harass the SWP.

Torture Survey

Amnesty International, an organization devoted to the release of political prisoners, reports in its latest survey that suppression of human rights is continuing on a disturbing scale in 107 nations. Persecution of dissident individuals, including the use of torture that almost defies belief, is not limited to a few countries; it's widespread. Amnesty International, which sent investigators into 31 countries last year, reports that torture experts exchange knowledge and that torture equipment is exported from one country to another.

Green Berets Train Local Cops

Although it is illegal for the military to aid civilian law enforcement agencies, members of the Special Forces Reserve Units have been holding informal meetings with local law enforcement officials over the summer.

The U.S. military's Special Forces Reserve Units held illegal training sessions for local police in counter insurgency strategies. The sessions are completely unofficial and not in any Special Forces capacity. They met with local police officials and also personnel from certain county sheriffs' offices. They created realistic scenarios, in which they would act. One went like this: a lame-duck president is in power. He should resign but can't give up his power. Military leaders decide they need a strongman government. They demand the federal government step in and declare martial law, a police state pronouncement.

Special Forces has two functions. One is to go into trouble spots as a small team of specialists. The CIA makes initial contact with local insurgents, and Special Forces enter to supply and train them. Its second function is to conduct direct operations against the enemy: raids, ambushes, intelligence gathering operations, etc.

Presently, the Special Forces doctrine is designed for rural areas only. Recent urban guerrilla activity leaves them totally disabled, according to a Special Forces Agent who wrote a story for *Harpers Weekly*.

Bugging Aliens

In March 1976, President Ford, Attorney General Levi and Senator Kennedy announced a bipartisan bill to govern electronic surveillance for national security purposes. On its surface, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (S. 3197) appears to be a constructive response to the abuses and atrocious practices of U.S. intelligence agencies. It is not.

The bill establishes a procedure for obtaining warrants for electronic surveillance of an "agent of a foreign power" in the name of collecting "foreign intelligence information." An agent of a foriegn power is defined as ayone "who is not a permanent resident alien or citizen of the U.S. and who is an . . . employee of a foreign power." But a "foreign power" includes not only governments (friendly or otherwise) and military forces but also factions, parties, or enterprises controlled by such entities. Foreign intelligence information includes any information with respect to foreign powers which is deemed essential to U.S. national security or to the conduct of U.S. foreign affairs. Christopher Pyle, in his analysis of S. 3197 in *The Nation*, states: "The scope of this definition is truly breathtaking. Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable national security wiretapping would be denied not only to suspected spies (whose agencies are omitted from the list) but to doctors from Sweden, professors from France, railroad engineers from England, politicians from Canada, and UNICEF workers from Australia. Indeed, given the millions of people that socialism has put on foreign government payrolls, about the only foreign visitors clearly exempted under the bill are apolitical foreign businessmen, like the executives of multinational corporations whose dealings in strategic commodities have caused consternation in our intelligence agencies."

Gangs Linked to Police

A police scandal is brewing in Detroit, where sources report that officers in the gang intelligence unit of the Detroit Police Department and members of the Detroit Police Officers Association (DPOA) have made plans to feed guns, money and drugs to the Errol Flynns and rival gangs. Although DPOA and Deputy City Mayor William Bechham have termed such reports "ridiculous and irresponsible," at least one aide to Mayor Coleman Young is reported to be investigating the rumors. Possible motives for the crime-intensifying actions include the need to force rehiring of laid-off officers and the desire to embarass or destroy the mayor and strengthen the DPOA.

At least one gang member, Keith Harvey (known as a publicity-seeker and not entirely credible), says that members of the Detroit Police gang intelligence unit gave a list of black police officers, names and addresses to gang members. The list was recently found in the possession of a gang member. The list, Harvey contends, was given to the gang by Abdul Mohammed, who was found murdered in Highland Park last winter. Harvey contends that Mohammed was a police provocateur.

A recent article in the *Los Angeles Times* also charged that gang violence in Detroit was precipitated by Mayor Young's enemies to embarrass his administration.

Feed Back on Reeses

John and Louise Rees were subpoened by the Socialist Workers Party as part of its suit against the government for harassment. The FBI admitted to its lawyers that 66 FBI agents are inside the campaign committee of SWP Presidential Candidate Peter Camejo, despite the ruling by the court to cease spying. The SWP suspects that the Rees apparatus may have worked for the government to spy on the party. The Reeses have also been subpoened by the Institutue for Policy Studies in a similar suit.

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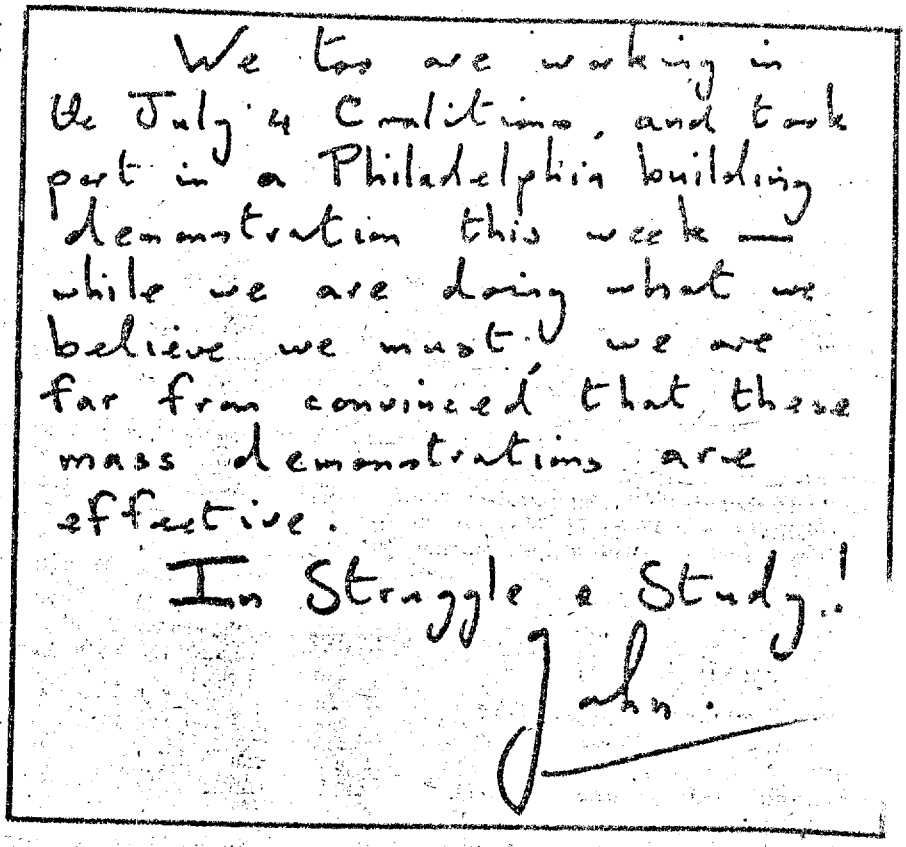
(right) A sample of John Rees' handwriting in a letter sent as recently as June 1976 to a radical left organization.



We too are working in the July 4 Coalition, and took part in a Philadelphia building demonstration this week — while we are doing what we believe we must, we are far from convinced that these mass demonstrations are effective.

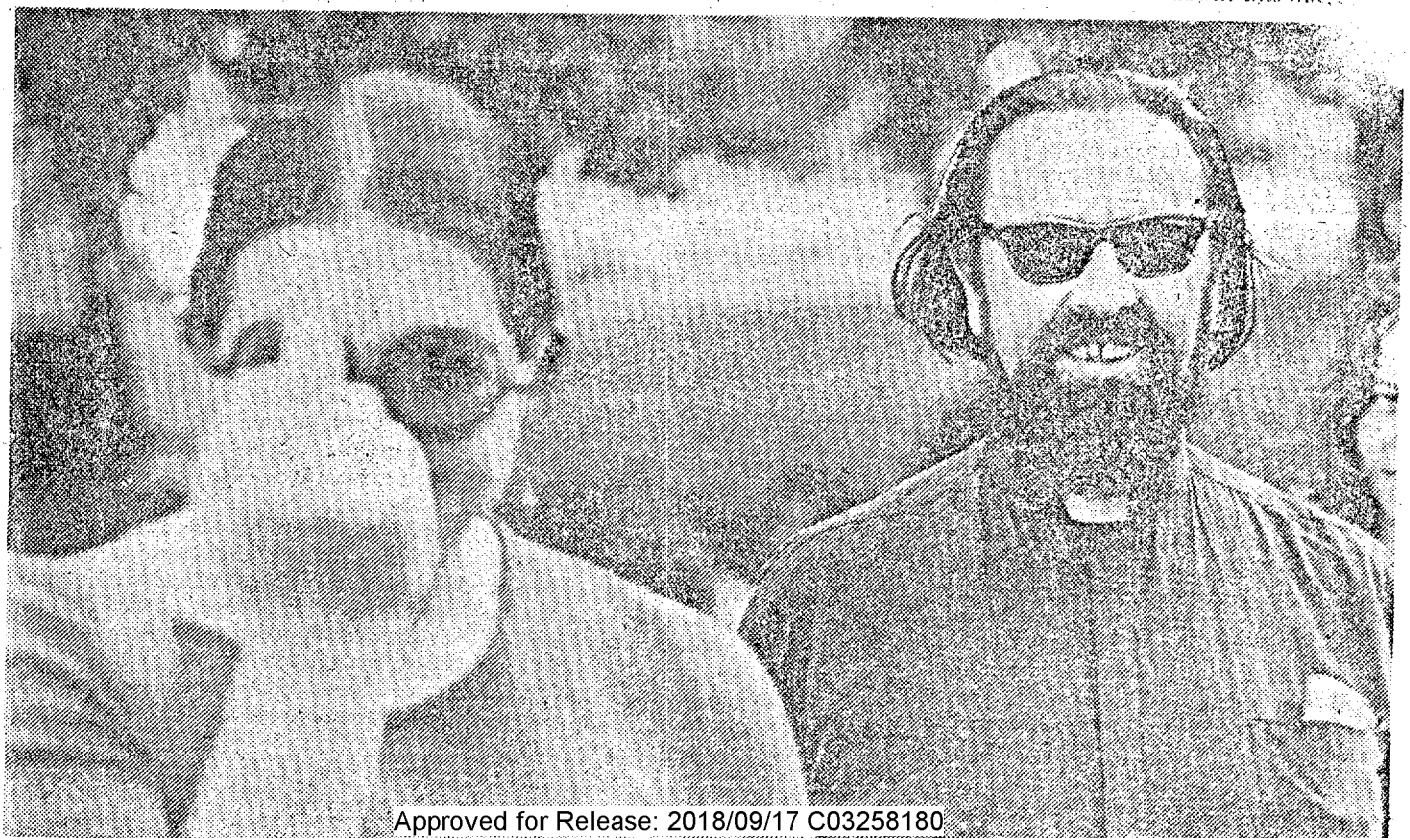
In Struggle & Study!

John.

John Rees has been active infiltrating a number of leftist organizations in Baltimore claiming he worked for a dog kennel or worked as a freelance writer. He also bragged about his many contacts in the Left movement. When the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee published its analysis of the SWP—largely written by Louise Rees who works for Rep. Larry McDonald—John Rees rushed a copy of the document over to the local officer of a SWP splinter group, the Baltimore Marxist Group, to gauge their reactions. An official Baltimore police press sticker is on John Rees's automobile license plate. His I.D. says he works for "Capital Reports." But "Capital Reports, Inc.," which answers his telephone as "Washington Credit Letter," denies Rees worked there.

The National Lawyers Guild in Washington, D.C. has formed the Guild Investigative Group to examine the works of the Reeses and Larry McDonald.

(below) JOHN and LOUISE REES as they appeared in 1972. In August, the Committee to Combat Communist Aggression held a banquet in Virginia in honor of the Reeses and Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.). The three spies received awards for their "great efforts at infiltrating radicals until their exposure recently in CounterSpy *magazine." Unknown to the 45 guests attending the dinner, there were also three counterspies enjoying dinner and McDonald's wicked remarks about this mas*



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IRS Spies On Own Workers

Three IRS employees, Paul Stuchlak, Frank D. Fuoco and Albert J. Schibani, charged that the IRS engaged in wholesale violation of the 1974 Privacy Act by maintaining illegal files on its workers. They filed the suit in Washington, D.C., seeking damages and other relief not only for the three plaintiffs, but for the "thousands" of other IRS employees allegedly affected. The files, which are not the files the IRS admitted and disclosed they had last December 1975, are kept in the supervisors' offices. The plaintiffs' names are on the outside of the notebook or binder and each folder contains handwritten notes on the employees, evaluation forms, latters, memoranda and other personal information on the employees. They're called "documentation folders" and are not kept with the Official Personnel Folder.

HUD Refuses to Give Up Workers Lists

This may be the first case where the Privacy Act conflicted with the Freedom of Information Act—and the latter prevailed. The Housing and Urban Development Dept. maintains promotion lists on which employees are ranked numerically. The lists are major factors—though not the only ones—in promotion decisions. When HUD refused to grant a local of the American Federation of Government Employees access to the lists, the union filed a grievance which eventually went to arbitration. The arbitrator declared the union is entitled to any and all information available to individual employees. He ordered HUD to make the promotion lists available within fifteen days. He further ordered that management must advise the union of the promotion ranking of any employee who asks the union to seek such information for him. He also said that when rankings are questioned, management must make the lists available in full to both the employees and the union.

U.S. Narcs Accused of Assassination Program

The Solidary Committee with the Argentine People (SCAP) and the *Manchester Guardian* have released separate reports about an assassination program similar to the CIA's Phoenix Program in Vietnam, but operating throughout Latin America. (See story) It may have been created by the CIA and the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA).

SCAP charges that the DEA in Argentina can be directly linked with the paramilitary death squad, AAA (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance), which has been responsible for as many as 5,000 murders since August 1972. In September, 55 young men and women, opponents of the Argentine military dictatorship, were murdered on the outskirts of Buenos Aires in one 24-hour period. The most grim mass killing involved 30 victims; they were found near Fatima on August 20, their bullet-riddled bodies blown apart by explosives. This method is now common in AAA killings.

The man responsible for organizing the AAA was former Argentine Social Welfare Minister Jose Lopez Riga. While exiled in Spain, Riga was recruited by Robert Hill, then U.S. Ambassador to Spain and a suspected CIA agent. When Hill was assigned as Ambassador to Argentina in 1973, Lopez Riga became the Welfare Minister. Hill and Riga arranged for the DEA to enter Argentina in order to establish a program to "wipe out drug traffic in Argentina." Riga claimed, while on television with Hill when they signed the U.S. Argentina Anti-drug Treaty, that the "anti-drug campaign will automatically be an anti-guerrilla campaign as well." The DEA has over 400 agents operating throughout Latin America.

Sensory Deprivation Report

The August 5, 1976 issue of New Scientists has a remarkable article titled "Taking the Hood off British Torture" documenting the clinical results of British "sensory deprivation" techniques on prisoners in northern Ireland. The article, using evidence from a report by the European Human Rights Commission, reveals that this modern form of torture, used by the British at their Combined Services Intelligence Centre, has long-range medical and psychiatric effects including paranoid delusions and visual and auditory hallucinations which can continue long after initial treatments.

In 1971, the British placed hoods over fourteen prisoners, forced them to stand against a wall in a frisk position, supported only by their fingertips, and dressed in loose-fitting boiler suits for periods up to sixteen straight hours. If they fell, they were forced back to the position. If they fell again, they were subjected to a continuous loud "white" noise of high intensity and deprived of sleep, food and water. Although these techniques do not leave any physical scars, the report concluded these methods are indeed torture.

Border Harassment Continues

The U.S. Supreme Court has authorized the Border Patrol to reestablish highway checkpoints along the Mexican border. In its July 6 decision, the court reversed a 1975 order by the circuit court of appeals in San Francisco that shut down checkpoints because they violated the Fourth Amendment ban on unreasonable search and seizure. The new decision also scraps the court's earlier rulings requiring "reasonable cause" for stopping and searching cars. The court described the checkpoints as "minimal" intrusion on constitutional rights, justified by the number of undocumented workers the system apprehends.

The checkpoints may be "minimal" for whites but not for Mexican-Americans. There have been many incidents of racist abuses by the Border Patrol, including verbal insults, physical violence, women molesting, and good old-fashioned American shakedowns. Justices Thurgood Marshall and William Brennan, dissenting from the ruling, declared the searches "a dragnet-like procedure offensive to the sensibilities of free citizens." The court noted that 17,000 "illegal aliens" were caught at a single checkpoint last year. Brennan added in his remarks, "That law in this country should tolerate use of one's ancestry as probative of possible criminal conduct is repugnant."

Framed Tokyo Rose?

The Workers News Service of Ewa Beach, Hawaii, recently sent *Counterspy* an interview from the *Honolulu Adviser* which indicates the FBI may have framed Iva Toguri d'Aquino, the Japanese-American woman convicted of treason in the 1949 "Tokyo Rose" trial concerning pro-Japanese radio broadcasts during World War II. The interview was with Norman Reyes, a Honolulu public relations man, who, while a POW, helped write some of the broadcasts by d'Aquino. Reyes was a defense witness at the trial of two other POWs who worked at Radio Tokyo. They all agreed d'Aquino was innocent and that they had conspired to sabotage Japanese

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propaganda efforts.

But the judge threw out Reyes' testimony because it directly contradicted a statement, prepared by the FBI and signed by Reyes, in which he stated there were no efforts to sabotage Japanese propaganda and that he did not trust d'Aquino. On the stand, he said he would trust her with his life. Reyes now claims the FBI statement was a total lie, composed by the Bureau, which he was forced to sign. Reyes and many others are urging President Ford to pardon Iva Toguri d'Aquino.

Military Retreat

During the August 10, 1976 hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee on the Nomination of Daniel Orrin Graham to be promoted to Lieutenant General on the Retired List of the Army, Senator Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) was able to force Gen. Graham to admit that the CIA was "the brightest and most flexible piece of the Federal Bureaucracy that I have ever run into." It's startling when one remembers Graham led the Pentagon effort to take over many intelligence activities, especially strategic estimates from the CIA. Under questioning from the Senator though, Graham admitted that the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) was not very accurate at threat estimates. Like most military intelligence agencies, the DIA exists to enforce the command staff's operational plans and most often delivers "intelligence to please." Most notorious were the military intelligence estimates of the Indochina War, which only reinforced Pentagon contentions that the U.S. was winning.

Are You an Interpol Victim?

The National Commission on Law Enforcement and Social Justice has been conducting an investigation into INTERPOL, the quasi/private International Police Organization working out of the U.S. Treasury Department. If INTERPOL officials or associates have abused or harassed you overseas by possible false INTERPOL files, we want you to contact the Commission. If you know or suspect INTERPOL harassment, please contact: The National Commission on Law Enforcement and Social Justice, 944 Market St., Rm. 607, San Francisco, CA 94102 or call 415) 397-2678.

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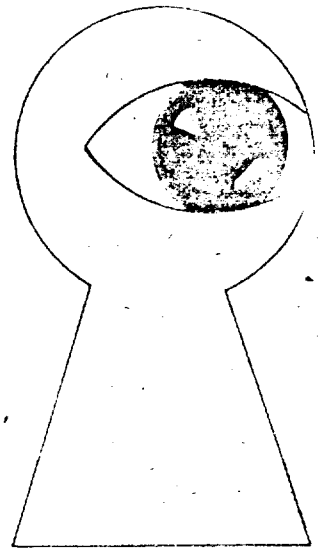

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In 1971, Attorney General John Mitchell, in an attempt to stave off further criticism of the FBI's practice of keeping huge lists of dissidents—alleged subversives—for who knows what nefarious reasons, announced that all of the lists had been abolished, and were replaced by one short "Administrative Index," or "ADEX," of less than 10,000 names. Since that list was also unrelated to proven, or even suspected criminal activity, in 1974 Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray announced that the ADEX had been abolished. However, in 1976, a politically active attorney from New York, requesting his FBI file under the Freedom of Information Act, discovered, buried in his dossier, a copy of his ADEX entry Memorandum and Report. ADEX, it appears, was not abolished, simply moved around. No explanation of the four categories was given. The New York office recommended that the lawyer be put in the lowest category, IV, "because of subject's apparent influence with New Left leaders." However, the home office stated: "In addition to the foregoing, a review of subject's activities clearly depicts him as a revolutionary attorney and sympathizer who, during a time of national emergency, would be likely to commit acts inimical to the national defense. In view of the above, subject is being included in Category III of ADEX." What fate is in store, we wonder, for people put in Category I? The names and addresses have been changed; otherwise the document below is an exact replica of an ADEX Memorandum:

FD-122 (Rev. 11-22-71)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Director, FBI (Bufile-

DATE: MAY 15 1972

SAC, NEW YORK

SUBJECT: Samuel Abraham Strauss aka

Re: NY summary report dated

Recommend: X ADEX Card ☐ ADEX Card changed (specify change only) ☐ Subject removed (succinct summary attached)

Name: Samuel Abraham Strauss

Aliases: Samuel A. Strauss
Sam Strauss
Abe Strauss

☒ Native Born ☐ Naturalized ☐ Alien

Tab: ~~Category I~~ ☐ Category II ☒ Category III ~~Category IV~~

☐ AWC ☐ BNT ☐ BPP ☐ COMMUNIST ☐ JFG ☒ MIN ☐ NL ☐ NOI ☐ PLP ☐ PPA ☐ PRN ☐ SDS ☐ SNC ☐ SPL ☐ SWP ☐ WWP

☐ Miscellaneous (Specify)

Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Race	Sex
6/20/39	Brooklyn, New York	W	☒ Male ☐ Female

Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any:
attorney
Becker, Becker and Strauss
504 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Residence Address:
35 Jane Street
New York, New York

Key Facility Data

Geographical Reference Number

FBI's Hit List

ADEX: The Index of 7500 Americans

Note the importance given to "Union Affiliation."

Some of the political groups are obvious: BPP—Black Panther Party; PLP—Progressive Labor Party; SDS—Students for a Democratic Society; SNC—Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; SWP—Socialist Workers Party; WWP—Workers World Party. For some, we can make educated guesses: MIN—Minutemen; NOI—Nation of Islam; PRN—Puerto Rican Nationalists. Some are less clear: NL may mean National Lawyers Guild; AWC may be American White Citizens Council; SPL could mean Spartacist League; no one at *CounterSpy* can guess what JFG stands for.

Note that fluctations in Category are obviously contemplated.

Note the date of "Rev." If the ADEX was only established in 1971, what was being revised?

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DEATH OI
EMBASSY
ROW

CIA Covers Up Murder Web of Chilean Gestapo With False Stories and Terrorist Operations

Leaders of the Junta from left: air force commander General Gustavo Leigh Guzman, Junta President Pinochet, Admiral Jose Toribio Merino Castro, and General Cesar Mendoza Duran, commander of the carabineros *(armed police).*

By Winslow Peck

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By the time CIA Director George Bush met with Justice Department officials to, as the *Washington Post* put it, "Aid the Federal investigation of the bombing death of former Chilean Ambassador Orlando Letelier", the cover-up was in full gear. Bush knew he couldn't keep all the strands of the CIA's convoluted web of intrigue from being torn, but the official probe could be just a "narrow" investigation focused only on those who committed the murder. With persuasion and limited cooperation on his part, the Justice Department would probably not examine all the CIA's "sources and methods". The odds were favorable for the narrow investigation.

Confused local police, FBI investigators, and bomb experts examined the bits and pieces of twisted automobile glass and metal. Whatever remained of the bomb did not explain its composition or the method of detonation. The assassins were long gone before police could even reconstruct the event. Interrogation of bystanders and witnesses were equally fruitless; conflicting stories are common after crimes of high tension and quick execution. Ordinary police methods do not work. This was a political assassination not a common murder.

The professional assassin can kill anyone, at any time, at any place and does not hinge success on the method of murder but on protective invisibility. The objective is not the killing, but the not-getting-caught. The assassin concentrates on plausible denial, alibi, confusion, false leads, escape and finally, the frame-up. This is why political assassinations such as those of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King have produced more tangled and speculative theory than evidentiary fact, which is likely to be the fate of this assassination.

Reporters in the Washington political community heard Letelier may have died of a bomb of his own making, or perhaps that of a jealous lover or political rival in his own family. The whispers from Letelier's enemies were far-fetched and abundant. The trauma of death in the nation's capital was momentous enough for mass confusion. Bush could plausibly deny involvement of the CIA, allowing those at the bottom of the murderous hierarchy to be the scapegoat if the whispers and confusion failed. The capital's citizens might know in their hearts that henchmen of the CIA and its bloodthirsty Chilean client DINA (the *Direccion de Intelligencia Nacional*), committed the foul deed but the CIA could live with that. What the CIA must hide is the vast web of CIA and Chilean intelligence agents, foreign dictatorships and their secret police, right-wing terrorists, media agents, lobbyists and corrupt government officials that would be exposed by a "broad" investigation. The American public must never know that the bloody hands that murdered the Chilean democrat patriot and the young American woman with him, are connected body and soul, to the secret power of fascism permanently woven into the frabric of America's liberal democracy and foreign policy.

Symbol of Unity

Orlando Letelier, 44-year-old former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defense and Ambassador to the US for the Chilean Popular Unity Government was an outspoken critic of the present Chilean military Junta which overthrew his government on September 11, 1973, almost three years to the day they assassinated him. The Junta had targeted him for a long time through its propaganda machine and through verbal threats made on his life. Letelier became a symbol of unity in the movement to resist the bloody dictatorship. Also killed when an explosive device went off in Letelier's car on September 21, as it rounded Sheridan Circle in Washington's Embassy Row, was Ronni Karpen Moffitt of the Institute for Policy Studies. Moffitt was an assistant to the Institute's director and active in Chile solidarity work. Letelier was an economist and Director of the international program of the Institute—the Transnational Institute (TNI),

shake

since coming to the US after imprisonment by the Junta. Moffitt's husband of three months, Michael, was injured in the blast.

The leader of the Junta, General Augusto Pinochet, had personally greeted Letelier that day, three years ago when the tanks and planes murdered Chilean democracy. Allende was killed by the time Pinochet ordered soldiers to take Letelier from the Ministry of Defense building at gunpoint. The Junta imprisoned Letelier at a concentration camp for the next year of his life on the bitterly cold Dawson Island, off Tierra del Fuego. But through concerted efforts of his friends and supporters throughout the world, Letelier was released on September 10, 1974, a year after the coup.

Letelier joined other Chilean refugees in a life of determined resistance against the Junta. Last February, in the course of his TNI activities, he visited Holland and spoke with the Dockworkers Federation and the Dutch trade unions. After listening to Letelier, they agreed to a total boycott on the handling of Chilean commodities. After talks with Letelier, the Dutch government offered financial aid for Chilean refugees in Holland and cancelled a $63 million development credit for the Junta. Letelier's prestige and leadership qualities made him a key figure among Chilean exiles from the Popular Unity parties, the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), some Christian Democrats, and the liberal Catholics. He was a symbol of Chilean unity.

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More threats on Letelier's life began shortly after Congress passed the Kennedy/Fraser resolution to cut off military aid to Chile on June 16, 1976. Strange men would call Isabel Letelier to ask: "Are you the wife of Orlando Letelier?"

"Yes," Isabel would answer.

"No, you are his widow," the voice on the line would say. Some of Letelier's mail was mysteriously opened and through friends in the diplomatic community, he learned that there were high level discussions in the Junta over whether or not to assassinate him.

The Junta viewed him as such a threat that Pinochet personally signed a decree revoking his Chilean citizenship on September 10, 1976.

Letelier was killed by right-wing Cuban exiles—called *gusanos* or worms—in the pay of both the CIA and recently DINA. The *gusanos* have been engaged in a war of terror against Cuba, the Caribbean countries and Latin America. ORLANDO BOSCH, leader of the *gusanos'* terrorist group, CORU, recently accused GUILLERMO and IGNACIO NOVO SAMBOL of killing Letelier.

The *gusanos* also blow up airplanes, embassies, fishing boats, airports and carry out kidnappings in an effort to overthrow and disrupt the Cuban government.

The CIA trained the *gusanos*. The *gusanos'* army, after training, was organized by the Chilean gestapo, called DINA. The CIA with DINA, organized the escalated war against Cuba. Today DINA is declaring its independence from the CIA by carrying out its own operations against Chilean resisters. The CIA-trained DINA-organized *gusanos* are connected to the secret police agencies of several Central and South American right-wing dictatorships and also to the secret police of Venezuela. Certain operations are carried out under CIA directions; others are unilateral efforts by DINA or other foreign secret police agencies. Together the network is desperately trying to cover up its connections by using its paramilitary operations and its psychological warfare methods.

What follows is a portrait of what a broad investigation of the CIA's paramilitary and propaganda operations that created, trained and supported DINA would uncover. A narrow investigation, such as the one the CIA is trying to control will cover up these facts. But the CIA will also have to cover up the fact that the US government can no longer control its brutal and vicious monsters; like Dr. Frankenstein when the monster he created from many dead bodies turned to attack him in his own laboratory.

PARAMILITARY OPERATIONS

On October 15, Cuban Premier Fidel Castro announced cancellation of the 1973 anti-hijacking agreement with the US in retaliation for what he termed a CIA-backed "terrorist campaign" against Cuba. Castro spoke at the mass funeral rally in Havana for the 57 Cubans (including several national heroes) who were among 73 persons killed when a *Cubana Airlines* plane was blown out of the air October 6. Castro revealed the existance of a double agent, working for the CIA but loyal to Cuba, who had intercepted two messages from CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia to a CIA agent

PHOTOGRAPH BY THE MIAMI HERALD

Orlando Bosch

in Havana. One of the messages indicated that the CIA was planning another attempt on Castro's life. The message of October 9 read:

Please report as soon as possible any information dealing with Fidel's attendance at the ceremony on the first anniversary of the independence of Angola on November 11. If affirmative, try to find out complete itinerary of Fidel's visits to other countries during the same trip.

With applause from the crowd, Castro said, "We have the code, the ciphers and all the evidence of the veracity of these communications." Castro also mentioned that the CIA agent had bugged the office of Osmany Cienfuegos, secretary of the executive committee of the council of ministers, who participates in formulating Cuba's African policy.

The other message from CIA headquarters intercepted earlier asked a series of questions about terrorist acts against Cuban property. The message read:

What is the official and private reaction to bomb attacks against Cuban offices abroad? What are they going to do to avoid and prevent them? Who is suspected as responsible? Will there be retaliations?

In a barely plausible denial, Henry Kissinger said in response to Castro, "I can categorically state that no official of the US government, no one paid by the American government, no one in contact with the American government has had anything to do with the airplane sabotage."

Castro mentioned eight earlier incidents other than the Barbados plane bombing. On April 6, two fishing boats

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were attacked by private launches from Florida. One fisherman was killed. Two persons were killed and there was heavy damage when a bomb exploded in the Cuban embassy in Lisbon on April 22. On July 5, another bomb damaged the Cuban mission to the United Nations. On July 9, a bomb exploded at Norman Manley airport in Jamaica in a luggage cart just before the luggage was to be loaded onto a Cuban airliner. A bomb exploded July 10 in the offices of British West Indies Airways in Barbados, which represents the Cuban airlines in Barbados. On July 23, a technician of the Cuban National Fishery Institute was killed in an attempt to kidnap the Cuban consul in Merida, Mexico. On August 9 two Cuban embassy officials were kidnapped in Buenos Aires and no one has heard from them since. And on August 18, a bomb exploded in the Cubana office in Panama.

CORU, a DINA terrorist army

Identified by Castro, the *Washington Star* and numerous Caribbean newspapers as responsible for the terrorist acts is the *gusano* organization (pronounced goo'zan'o) organization, the **Coordination of United Revolutionary Organizations (CORU)**. CORU is an umbrella organization of five anti-Castro groups with approximately 500 members (See Sidebar). It formed at a meeting in Costa Rica in June 1974. CORU is well known in Miami's Cuban exile community, Little Havana, and photos of its meetings have appeared in the local Spanish press. From investigations of its activities by Caribbean governments, we'll learn more about CORU, but it is taking the blame in the US government's narrow investigation. Training and support for the individuals and member groups of CORU is supplied by the CIA; that's what the cover up is all about. The organization is the result of fanatic passions of enterprising *gusanos* and the operational need of the Junta's gestapo, DINA. CORU is a DINA terrorist army.

It claimed responsibility for the September 1 bombings at the Embassy of Guyana in Port of Spain, Trinidad; the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala City; as well as other bombings in Barbados on other occasions. CORU claims it bombed the Guyana embassy in retaliation for Guyana's policy of allowing Cuban airplanes to refuel there en route to Angola. The Guatemala bombing, according to CORU, was in retaliation for Mexico's failure to release two CORU members who tried to kidnap the Cuban consul in Merida, Mexico.

CORU is lead by the crazed former pediatrician named Orlando Bosch. Bosch was one of the founders of **Cuban Power** but he supposedly broke with the CIA after the Bay of Pigs because he thought the CIA was no longer dedicated to overthrowing Castro. Although his first commando actions were hardly dangerous, Bosch has a habit of killing those with whom he disagrees. (See *New Times*, October 29 for a profile of Bosch's career.)

Bosch and others began their anti-Castro actions in the early sixties against Cuban and other socialist commercial shipping in the harbor of Miami. But his first attacks were empty threats; he forgot to put fuses in the bombs. The "mad baby doctor" soon learned from his mistakes, how-

The CIA's Henchmen

The following *gusano* groups are only some of the Cuban exile organizations under the umbrella group called CORU. The organizations that participate in terrorist activity use such sophisticated explosives that police in Dade County, Florida required special training in bomb techniques.

Accion Cubano—a small Miami-based group formed around July, 1974 which claimed credit for bombing several Cuban embassies in that year. Recently, this group sold bonds on the streets of Little Havana (in Miami) to finance its organizing, in denominations from $10 to $1,000, redeemable upon Fidel Castro's death.

The National Liberation Front of Cuba (FNLC)—also Miami-based and headed by FRANK CASTRO and HUMBERTO LOPEZ. It took credit for the April 6 fishing boat attack. FNLC appeared about the time that talks of renewed trade with Cuba began in Washington. It also had plans to assassinate Senators Javits and Pell before their trip to Havana in early 1974. FNLC has been largely responsible for an internecine war between *gusano* groups in Little Havana and elsewhere over the question of how to maintain discipline for the umbrella group CORU. The FNLC has formed several satellite terrorist cells in the US including the **Jovenese de Estrella (Youth of the Star)** in Miami, and **F14** in the New York City area, with whom the Letelier assassins are associated; **Zero**, which marks its victims for death by sending the a "zero" mark; **Secret Cuban Government**; **Cuban Action**; **GIN**; **Omega 7**; and **El Condor** which took credit for the plane bombing that killed 73 people in October. One of El Condor's leaders, ROLANDO OTERO was arrested for bombing the Miami FBI office, the Florida State Attorney's office, the Dade County Police Department and another explosion at Miami International Airport. He was the youngest member of the Bay of Pigs invasion force.

The Association of Veterans of the Bay of Pigs—a Miami-based group headed by ROBERTO CARBALLO who won the presidency after a bitter fight at this year's election ceremonies on April 17. The keynote address at the congress was Nicaraguan dictator Somoza and US Representative CLAUDE PEPPER.

Some of these *gusanos* simply became mercenaries after the Bay of Pigs fiasco and joined bands such as the **Intercontinental Penetration Force** led by freelance anti-communist mercenary GERALD PATRICK HEMMING in the early sixties before the Congo operation.

Movimento 17 de April—a splinter group of the CIA-and-Green-Beret-trained **Cuban Invasion Brigade 2506**, run by CIA case officers GRACETON LYNCH and RICHARD ROBERTSON, which was defeated at the Bay of Pigs on April 17, 1960. The splinter group was formed last April by JUAN PEREZ FRANCO.

Movimento Nacionalista Cubana—another Miami-based group responsible for many bombings in the US and elsewhere.

CORU drew personnel from the **JURE** group of *gusanos*, for CORU operations in the Dominican Republic. JURE has operated since the US invasion in 1967.

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ever, and created such a problem for harbor authorities that the US Coast Guard was forced to escort the ships in and out of the harbor. By the mid-sixties, Bosch was a leader of the **Movement for Revolutionary Recovery (MIRR)** led by MANUEL F. ARTIME, who later would form the **Commandos Mambises**, the only *gusano*-terrorist group which the CIA directly originated in the early sixties.

All the *gusano* groups were infiltrated and manipulated by the CIA's **OPERATION MONGOOSE**, the campaign to overthrow or kill Castro. Mongoose developed the Miami CIA station **JM/Wave** on the University of Miami under the cover of **Zenith Technical Enterprises**. JM/Wave had an annual budget of over $50 million, branch offices in 54 dummy corporations, and a permanent staff of 300 Americans who employed and controlled approximately 6,000 *gusano* agents including Bernard Barker of Watergate fame, who was a member of MIRR under E. Howard Hunt as his controller. After the Bay of Pigs fiasco, led by GRACETON LYNCH and RICHARD ROBERTSON, the CIA wound down operations at JM/Wave and sent Artime to Guatemala under direction from Robertson in a last effort to influence *gusanos* who were bitter over the defeat. Robertson later directed the *gusano* actions in the Congo crisis of 1967. The following explains what some of the 6,000 trained *gusanos* did after the Bay of Pigs plan fell apart.

With a cell of MIRR, Bosch escalated the disruption of shipping in the Miami harbor. On September 16, 1968, the FBI arrested Bosch and others while they fired a makeshift bazooka into the harbor from MacArthur Causeway, over the Coast Guard cutters escorting a Polish ship. Charged with this, and with using the telephone to make threats against the governments of Mexico, England and Spain, Bosch was sentenced to ten years in a federal prison. After three and a half years Bosch was freed after a series of hunger strikes; he soon disappeared. US authorities still want Bosch for parole violations and for questioning for attempting to murder RICARDO MORALES NAVARETTE, a former FBI informer and CIA agent, now a high-ranking member of the Venezuelan secret police.

Bosch was arrested in Caracas, Venezuela in November, 1974 after taking credit for two bombings, but the FBI did not ask that he be extradited to the US because the State Department intervened. Powerful Cuban exiles in Venezuela took their case to high levels of the government and Bosch was released. He flew immediately to Santiago, Chile and established contact with DINA. A Miami newsman who interviewed him there reported he had a Venezuelan chief of staff and 15 Chilean bodyguards.

DINA had already made contact with other *gusano* groups including the non-terrorist youth group **ABDALA** and **Alpha 66**, a broad coalition of exiles often opposed to the terrorism. According to a *gusano* defector who returned to Cuba named CARLOS RIVERO COLLADA*, Colonel EDUARDO SEPULVEDA, the Chilean Consul in Miami, is an intimate friend of Pinochet and visited Miami shortly after the coup; at the same time, the Junta repaid several million dollars of its debt to the US in cash. There, according

to Rivero, he met with RAMIRO DE LA FE, a leader of a group called **Young Cuba**. Young Cuba took credit for attacks on the Cuba Mission in Ottawa in 1966 and 1967 and in 1972 blew up the Cuban trade mission in Montreal with assistance from members of the Royal Canadi Mounted Police. De la Fe had been sentenced in the U three and a half years for illegal activity. Young C CORU and the **National Liberation Front of Cuba** (are believed to receive additional financial backing fr m Little Havana godfather, CARLOS PRIO SOCARRAS, the president of Cuba before Battista. A splinter group of Young Cuba, the **Cuban Neorevolutionary Action Group** took credit for the 1973 attack on the Cuban ambassador in Mexico which CORU would later attempt to avenge in the Guatemala City bombing.

Sepulveda encouraged the *gusanos* to carry out a publicity campaign in Miami and New York City in return for munitions and funds. DINA assigned a newsman, PEDRO ERNESTO DIAZ of the fascist *Patria y Libertad* party to control Young Cuba. The information which was stolen from the Chilean Embassy in Washington before the coup by the same *gusanos* involved in the Watergate affair, ended up in the hands of this Chilean fascist party. Sepulveda attended a September meeting of *gusanos* in Miami Beach; others in attendance were JULIO DURAN, the Junta's representative at the U.N., Memphis mayor MARICE FERRAR, and the US Representative TOM E. GALLAGER.

By July 1975 Bosch began his reign of terror in Little Havana and the Caribbean to gain control of all the *gusanos* and to raise his CORU army. One of his principal deputies became HUMBERTO LOPEZ of FNLC who was a former announcer for the Voice of America and who had been trained in demolitions by the US Army and the CIA.

Some of Bosch's first actions after his release from prison were in Costa Rica. While Bosch was behind bars,

CARLOS RIVERO COLLADOS, who returned to his homeland in Cuba, has recently published a book on the gusanos *called* Los Sobrinos Del Tio Sam *or* The Nephews of Uncle Sam.

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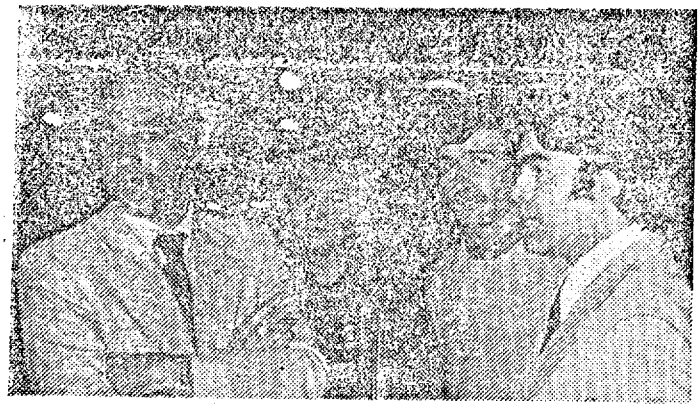
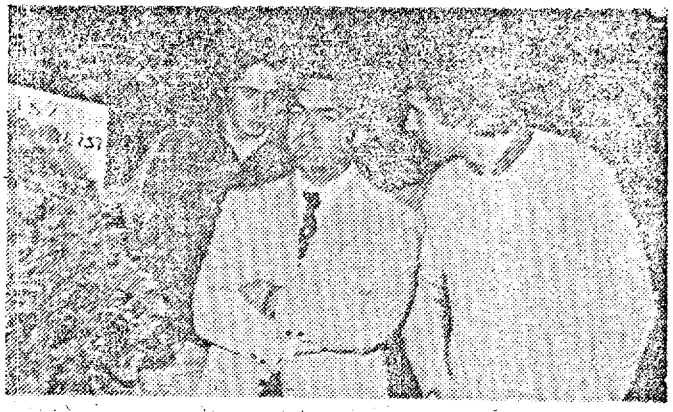
BENJAMIN MATTE, a member of *Patria y Libertad* had set up DINA's Costa Rican operations to counteract the work of anti-Junta groups according to the Costa Rican weekly *Pueblo* on November 2, 1974. Its July 6 issue stated that Chileans were working with various right-wing groups with their nexus in Guatemala, where the CIA organized a coup d'etat in 1954 and has influenced the government ever since. On October 29, 1974 the newspaper *La Hora* published photostats of intercepted correspondence dated September 12, 1974 between Chilean Embassy officials and their superiors in Santiago, in which the Embassy requested more funds to finance the activities of **Movimento Costa Rica Libre (MCRL)**. The MCRL was asking for more funds. The documents stated that "the contributions which we have given them have been small but they are asking for more aid." The letter mentioned activities "following our instructions from Santiago" to buy arms (presumably for MCRL) and to pay for propaganda work by *gusano* teams. The Junta's purpose was to strengthen MCRL at the time because it was, in their opinion, the only way to prevent communism in Costa Rica. Santiago (and presumably the US) believed the Oduber government was "weak, indecisive, and corrupt."

The *La Hora* photostats specifically implicate the Guatemalan military attache in Costa Rica and state that MCRL has "minimal aid" from the embassies of El Salvador (whose Chief of Staff was recently arrested in New York City on charges of massive gunsmuggling from the US to Central America), Guatemala, Israel and the United States. That same year a Costa Rican radio station reported that Guatemala, El Salvador and Chile were facilitating a coup. Even the conservative opposition Costa Rican daily *La Nacion* on October 23, 1975 carried reports of the Guatemalan government financing MCRL.**





Left: A Rev. Moon Unification Church spy (left) and DINA agent photograph Chile Solidarity rally one year after the coup, September 11, 1974, in front of the White House. Middle: At a large reception for Hortensia Allende November 13, 1974, sponsored by the Institute for Policy Studies at the DuPont Plaza Hotel. Left to right, an unidentified man, a DINA informant who is a student at Montgomery Junior College and a former Santiago Military Academy student; DINA agent with mustache; and his superior. Right: As guests enter reception hall, DINA informer and DINA agent whisper names to superior.

In 1975, DINA sent Bosch to Costa Rica with a Chilean diplomatic passport to make contact with the MCRL and to assassinate MIR leader ANDRES PASCAL ALLENDE, nephew of the murdered President of Chile. But Bosch was detained after Mexico's President Echevveria called Costa Rican President Oduber to warn him. Kissinger was coming to Costa Rica at the same time. The April 29, 1975 issue of *Pueblo* revealed that from there Bosch was reported in several Latin American and Caribbean countries especially the Dominican Republic and Venezuela, where the *gusano* groups are active in the police and intelligence agencies services. The *Pueblo* office was blown up on August 2, 1976 by *gusanos* connected to Bosch and DINA. The Costa Rican secret police, *Officina de Seguridad Nacional* (OSN), directed by Gen. FERNANDO FIGULS also employs *gusanos* and continues to allow MCRL to operate in Costa Rica and to publish a column in *El National.*

Gusanos Admit Guilt

One day after the Cubana plane blew up, Trinidad authorities arrested HERNANDO RICARDO LUSANO, aka JOSE VELASQUEZ, aka JOSE GARCIA of the Caracas

**

That month, the government began a formal investigation of MCRL sparked by rumors that the group, along with gusanos *were planning to assassinate foreign minister GONZALO FACIO who was active in the campaign to lift sanctions against Cuba. The* Miami Herald *on September 20, 1974 reported that Facio received phone threats when he was in the U.S. for U.N. and OAS meetings. At the same time, a former* gusano *surfaced in Havana revealing that the* gusano *terrorists were planning attacks against Facio, Kissinger, and other U.S. diplomats. Facio, like Kissinger and other officials were hardly soft on communism; they were seeking a pragmatic policy towards Cuba at the time because of skyrocketing sugar prices. Facio professes close ties with Nelson Rockefeller and is a corporate lawyer in Costa Rica for United Brands, Allied Chemical, U.S. Steel, and ALCOA and has been a legal counsel to Robert Vesco.*

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newspaper *El Mundo*, which carried a column by CIA agent LLANO MONTES on October 12 about the bombing. Also arrested was FREDDY LUGO.

At this writing the Venezuelan judge has indicted four *gusanos*; Bosch, Lusano, Lugo and LUIS POSADA CARRILES, a Cuban-Venezuelan who was formerly chief of operations of the Venezuelan secret police called DISIP (Directorate of Intelligence and Prevention Services), from 1971 to 1973.

Ricardo and Lugo, who have now admitted planting the bomb, have implicated Bosch in the incident. They were arrested in Trinidad on October 7, 1976 after the crash when a taxi driver, taking them to their hotel, overheard them discussing and laughing about the incident. Trinidad police have proof that Ricardo contacted his boss Posada from the hotel, and Ricardo's girlfriend and his secretary both confirmed they had passed on a message for Posada: "The truck has left with a full load."

Ricardo was trained by the CIA in demolitions and formerly worked for Cuba's old dictator Battista in his secret police. A few days before the bombing, he was seen in Caracas in the company of CIA agent FELIX MARTINEZ SUAREZ. Ricardo and Lugo also worked for a private detective agency in Caracas called **Commercial Industrial Investigations (ICICA)**, which uses equipment that's more sophisticated than any used by government agencies in Venezuela.

On October 15, Venezuelan authorities arrested other members of the private eye firm including Posada. The CIA also trained Posada, who is believed to be among those who intervened for Bosch's release in 1974.

The daily *Punto* announced that CORU members OLEG GUETON RODRIGUEZ, CELSA TOLEDO, FRANCISCO NENEZ and Bosch had all been arrested in Caracas as well; they are also connected to the mysterious private eye firm.

The governments of Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela, Guyana, Barbados and Cuba have formed a united effort to investigate these actions and more information will no doubt be available in the next few months.

Now that Bosch has some protection in Venezuela, he denies he accused the Novo brothers of the Letelier/Moffitt assassination. Cuba's Foreign Minister declared recently that the US is attempting to block the trial of the *gusanos* in Venezuela and has recently divided the Caribbean meetings on the airplane sabotage. In those meetings, Fred Wills, Foreign Minister of Guyana, mentioned that Trinidad and Tobago officials had diaries of the arrested *gusanos* which implicate the CIA. He also mentioned that he had concrete proof the US was attempting to destabilize Guyana and Jamaica; it is part of an overall US strategy to divide the other nations of the Caribbean from Cuba. During negotiations on the fate of the arrested *gusanos*, Trinidad and Tobago officials refused to release evidence to the other nations including Venezuela.

Perez hired *gusanos* to fight Cuban influence in the past, as many Latin American chiefs of state have done. But in recent years, Perez has opened up to the possibility of better relations between Cuba and Venezuela. The Caracas trial for the terrorist saboteurs puts pressure on Perez. They will be tried in a military court, because officials thought it would facilitate a fair trial for the *gusanos*. But the Venezuelan government has had intimate ties to those involved and has allowed DINA and the *gusanos* to operate from Venezuela; to prosecute those who have served the government will be difficult.

The problem for Perez is further complicated because *gusanos* hold important positions in the Venezuelan secret police, DISIP. RICARDO MORALES NAVARRETE, a high ranking *gusano* in DISIP, worked for the CIA just after the Bay of Pigs. He was a member of Rick Robertson's team in the Congo (Zaire) in the mid-sixties. He became outraged there at the degenerating operation. According to a reliable source in the CIA, the *gusanos* had nothing to do in the Congo and spent most of their time getting drunk firing shots at the U.S. consulate for fun, and generally terrorizing the consul's wife. Morales later returned to the U.S. and became an informer for the Bosch trial, an act against which Bosch retaliated by trying to kill Morales

DINA Foreign Operations

The murder of Letelier follows a pattern of Junta terror to remind Chilean exiles of the blood that was let on the day of the coup. For the past three years prominent Chil exiles have been attacked. In 1974 CARLOS PRA former Chief of Staff of the Armed forces under Allend was killed in Argentina, at DINA's request. Then, in 1975 *gusanos*, or Italian fascists, fired shots at BERNARDO LEIGHTON, vice-president of the Chilean Christian Democratic Party.

Prats, Chief of Staff until his resignation during the Allende regime, was replaced by Pinochet. He was living in Buenos Aires, working on a book about the coup and Pinochet, whom he had actually recommended as his o replacement, a judgment he had come to regret and wish to expose. On September 30, 1974, just a year after coup, he and his wife were blown up in a car; shortly thereafter, the manuscript was stolen from his home.

Colonel PEDRO EWING, director of DINA's foreign operations, established DINA relations with Argentina. Ewing and his assistant; JUAN LUIS BULNES CERDA who was former head of the youth group of the fasci **National Party**, ordered the Prats assassination. Bulnes was one of many Chilean Military Intelligence Service (SIM) agents who were responsible for the killing of Prats' predecessor, General Rene Schneider.** Sources allege that members of the **Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA)** killed Prats. The AAA is composed of Argentine soldiers and was formed by LOPEZ REGA, the power behind the Peron government at the time. After the coup against the corrupt and failing Peron administration, General JORGE VIDELA reincorporated the AAA back into the army. Thus he could declare that he "eliminated" the right wing terrorists, in order to target the left. DINA agents Ewing Bulnes, and a man named EDMUNDO JACKSON, a tor turer who directed the AAA attack on Prats, began work i Argentina only a month before Prats was murdered.

A year later, the trio made contact with the Italian neo-fascist party, MSI, whose leaders have been connected to the Italian secret service, SID. On October 6, 1975, a

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attempt was made to kill Leighton, vice-president of the conservative CDP. Italian Communist newspapers accused MSI of machine-gunning Leighton and his wife in a street in Rome. Though both survived, Ana Leighton was paralyzed. Oddly, though significantly, CORU sent a communique taking credit for the attack in Italy, pointing the finger again at DINA and the *gusanos*.

Ewing institutionalized DINA's tactic of cooperating with local terror squads after DINA practiced it with the CIA's terror squad, **Patria y Libertad**, in Chile. DINA maneuvers with the *gusanos*' CORU, the Italian MSI, the Costa Rican MRCL, the Argentine AAA, and others, were organized from DINA headquarters, which Ewing established in fascist Madrid in early 1974.

CounterSpy has also learned that DINA is active not only in Spain, but in England, Paris, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland. A report from the London-based news service, *InterPress*, on May 16, 1976, reveals that Ewing may have repeated his operations in London. The former Chilean Embassy press attache and DINA informant, JORGE NAVARRETE, contacted a man known only as "John Cooper," but whose real name, according to *InterPress*, was Leslie Wooler. Wooler, a former corporal in the British Royal Air Force, infiltrated pro-Palestinian organizations in the sixties. Three years earlier, he had been active in a plot by the British neo-fascist, anti-semitic **National Front** to take over the Conservative Party's **Monday Club**.

Navarrete recruited "Cooper" at the *Monday Club* and asked him to photograph people entering the Chile Solidarity offices. After a few contacts, he asked Wooler to remove documents, including finance and address lists, and to gather information on the private lives of the supporters. In particular, Wooler was asked to gather information on Judith Hart, the former Minister of Overseas Development, and her son Stephen, secretary of the British Chile Solidarity Campaign. Then Navarrete encouraged Wooler to make harassing late-night phone calls to the Harts.

Wooler was motivated by his anti-communism and by the lucrative paychecks (several hundred pounds) signed by the Chilean Ambassador to England, KAARA OLSEN. But he soon realized that he was associating with people who were capable of killing his allies, the Christian Democrats. Navarrete took Wooler to a meeting with a DINA agent, presumed to be Ewing, who told him they were

Ewing was the secretary of the Junta immediately after the coup and it was he who presented the notorious "White Book," written by the CIA, in which the Junta repeated the propaganda lines against Allende to justify the coup. At that time, Ewing controlled many resources of the Chilean intelligence network.

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* *In June of this year, at least 27 Chilean refugees disappeared in Argentina and there are reports that some 15,000 refugees there are terrorized by the DINA with assistance from the Argentine SIDE. There are more reports that IBM installed a sophisticated computer system in Santiago for DINA; it contains an index of these 15,000 Chileans and others from Latin American countries. Shortly before the coup, 12 members of* Patria y Libertad *were trained by* International Cash Register *in computer operations in Ohio. TIME magazine revealed in September, 1974, that the U.S. Embassy added 12 code clerks to the staff in Santiago shortly before the coup. Reliable sources at the State Department have indicated to* CounterSpy *that the clerks helped computerize names of Latin American leftists in Chile at the time for arrest during and after the coup. Thousands of Bolivians, Argentines, Brazilians and at least two Americans were arrested by the Junta forces. Many died, including the two Americans, and the others were turned over to their own countries' secret police.*

This policy is continuing. In July, ANDRES PASCAL ALLENDE, who Bosch planned to kill in Costa Rica but never attempted, announced from Havana that EDGARDO ENRIQUEZ, a leader of the MIR, had been captured by Argentine authorities and turned over to DINA last April.

** *Schneider opposed a plan for a coup before the elections. The Church Committee report on* Covert Actions in Chile *reports that the CIA gave machine guns to a group of military conspirators on the day of Schneider's death. This was part of Kissinger and the 40 Committee's Track II plan to prevent Allende's election. But according to CIA records, the guns were given to a different group, not the one headed by Bulnes. Despite this plan or that of various conspirators in Santiago, Allende was elected.*

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TIP Terrorist Information Project

Vietnamese Reactionaries Organize

A secret society called **Black April** was recently formed by anti-communist Vietnamese refugees and is waging sporadic violence and intimidation in refugee communities. First reports of the intimidation campaigns came from the refugee camps. Violence often broke out between Thieu regime officials and politically more moderate Vietnamese, swept along in the exodus. In Los Angeles, several refugee meetings have been disrupted by fist fights. Vietnamese priests have been red-baited by the Black April members who believe priests work with communists.

Last July in Boston the Association of Vietnamese Patriots meeting at MIT was disrupted by three Vietnamese men brandishing knives. The men identified themselves as former soldiers (paratroopers and marines) of the Thieu regime who left leaflets with this declaration: "Blood will flow and corpses will fall if you continue to make propaganda for the communists." At the bottom of the leaflet was the name "Black April". Former Minister of Information, Hoang Duc Nha, was beaten by Black April members in Washington D.C.

The group emerges to the extreme right of Thieu and his followers among the Vietnamese exile community. Many Black April members believe Thieu was too soft and sold out the country, thus the name, April, the month of the exodus. One Vietnamese exile paper. Trang Den, which claims to still have correspondents in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), reports that Black April, with contacts in counter-revolutionary groups still operating in Vietnam, is well funded and armed. Over 5,000 refugees who worked with the CIA's Phoenix assassination program arrived in the U.S. with other refugees. Although U.S. officials stated at the time that they were merely heads of programs and not the torturers or assassins in the field, many who trained and practiced terrorism are now organized in the U.S.

Police Arrest Nazi Bomber

On September 9, 1976 the Los Angeles Police arrested 23-year-old Serge Mashe, a former **American Nazi Party** member, for bombing the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in that city on February 4, 1975. In his home, police found six machine guns, four high-explosive artillery shells, and 36 other weapons including 19 handguns. There were also 500,000 rounds of ammunition found in the house. Mashe says he is a "gun collector."

The day after the 1975 bombing, the **National Socialist Liberation Front**, a Nazi splinter group, took credit for the bombing. Two months later the *LA Free Press* published an interview with **NSLF leader Joseph Tommasi** who openly boasted his outfit was responsible for the bombing: "We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the left." He was later gunned down by a member of a rival Nazi faction.

Chicago Nazis Compete With Klan

The American Nazi Party in C[illegible] continues to organize white youth in Marquette Park area, in [illegible] with local **Ku Klux Klan** efforts. White youths organized an attack on a rally sponsored by the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement on July 19th. The march, attended by 300 people, was organized to protest racist attacks on blacks in the park. They were confronted by several thousand youths who assaulted the unarmed marchers with cherry bombs, bricks, bottles, and paving stones.

Although the KKK was active among the older white residents of Marquette Park, it was the Nazi Party wooing the youths that really spurred racism in the area. The Nazis have opened a storefront in the area and some reports indicate they are now concentrating on organizing among the 3,000 policemen known to be living in the Marquette Park community.

SWP Suit

In connection to the SWP's $40 million lawsuit against government harassment and surveillance, the FBI was forced to release its Denver files on **Timothy Redfearn, an FBI informer** who infiltrated the SWP and who committed burglaries for the FBI. A Denver grand jury is hearing testimony that **FBI Director Clarence Kelley** and the local bureau conspired to cover up the evidence of Redfearn's burglaries for the FBI. On August 30, red swastikas were found painted on the SWP headquarters building and Nazi hate mail regularly streams into the SWP office. Nazi flags were found in Redfearn's apartment which have led the SWP to charge the FBI is cooperating with the Nazi factions to harass the SWP and the Left in Denver, Los Angeles, and other cities.

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Klan Organizes Prison Guards

Reports are growing of **Ku Klux Klan** organizing drives among the guards at Attica, Clinton, Comstock, Elmira, Greenhaven, and other prisons in New York State. At Napanoch, some prisoners, active in the NAACP or other minority organizatons, have been beaten by guards affiliated with the secret KKK organizing. Napanoch appears to be the center of KKK activity because of the prison's innovative education programs, college and vocational programs for Black and Latin people.

The September 1976 issue of *Off Our Backs*, a national feminist newspaper, has an important article on the **Ku Klux Klan** among the woman and men guards at the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility in Westchester County New York. Two of the male guards openly wear gold and silver KKK rings. The report contains details of the male guards pushing, beating and molesting the female inmates while the female guards watch. In one incident, a woman, who had recently had a Caesarean operation, was beaten until she began to bleed. She was then left bleeding in her cell for six hours before a doctor came to assist her.

Klan Marches

On August 14, 200 members of the United **Klans of America** marched down Preston Highway in Louisville with shouts of "White power" and "Good thing no niggers are here!" KKK literature stated that the march was not only an anti-busing march but openly anti-black and anti-communist. The march was made up of some Klansmen on horses, scores of Klansmen walking, several parade floats carrying Klan dignitaries, a military unit, a youth group and a ladies' auxiliary. Almost everyone wore hoods and robes and carried American, Confederate and KKK flags.

Although the KKK leads only a weak, extreme-right faction of the anti-busing movement in Kentucky, the cheering crowds on the day of the march indicate a growing support for KKK methods. Since the KKK began active organizing in Louisville a year ago, the black community has suffered bombings, beatings, and massive harassment. Sherman Adams, head of KKK for efforts in Kentucky, said the march showed "the people were around and ready to fight."

If there is a Nazi, KKK, or NCLC activity in your area, be sure to send a tip to TIP, Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

Peaceful demonstrations were followed by violent ones in September as Louisville schools opened. Police were forced to fire volleys of tear-gas to disperse about 1,000 demonstrators as suspected Ku Klux Klan members and white youths smashed store windows, burned park benches, vandalized phone booths and threw rocks and bottles at police. Police were forced to arrest 14 adults who refused to disperse.

August 28 was the date of the first mass rally by anti-busing forces in Louisville and there was ample evidence of a split developing in the ranks of this racist movement. The majority of the 1500 people were led by ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) and the **National Association to Preserve and Restore our Freedom (NAPF)** supporting a national strategy of legal action against forced busing, sex education in schools, communism and atheism. A small force, led by the KKK, was obviously in attendance. Leaders of the so-called "respectable racists" say they can't control the KKK and the open threat of terrorism unless they can win concessions on the busing issue.

Anti-busers Rampage

The Powder Keg Information Center, a local anti-busing group loyal to ROAR, and Boston City Council President Louise Day Hicks, held the first anti-busing demonstration of the season on August 31 which culminated with rock-throwing attacks on police in Charlestown. The following evening, an estimated 600 whites skirmished in gang assaults on police, attacked patrol cars and set bonfires in what the Boston Herald American, a conservative anti-busing newspaper, termed a "rampage." Public transportation in the area was disrupted by groups of young white toughs who stoned city buses. The four who were arrested had scattered pieces of cardboard, which were embedded with two-inch nails, under police cars. In all these incidents, members of the secret paramilitary **Charlestown and South Boston Marshals Association**, largely organized by KKK members, were present.

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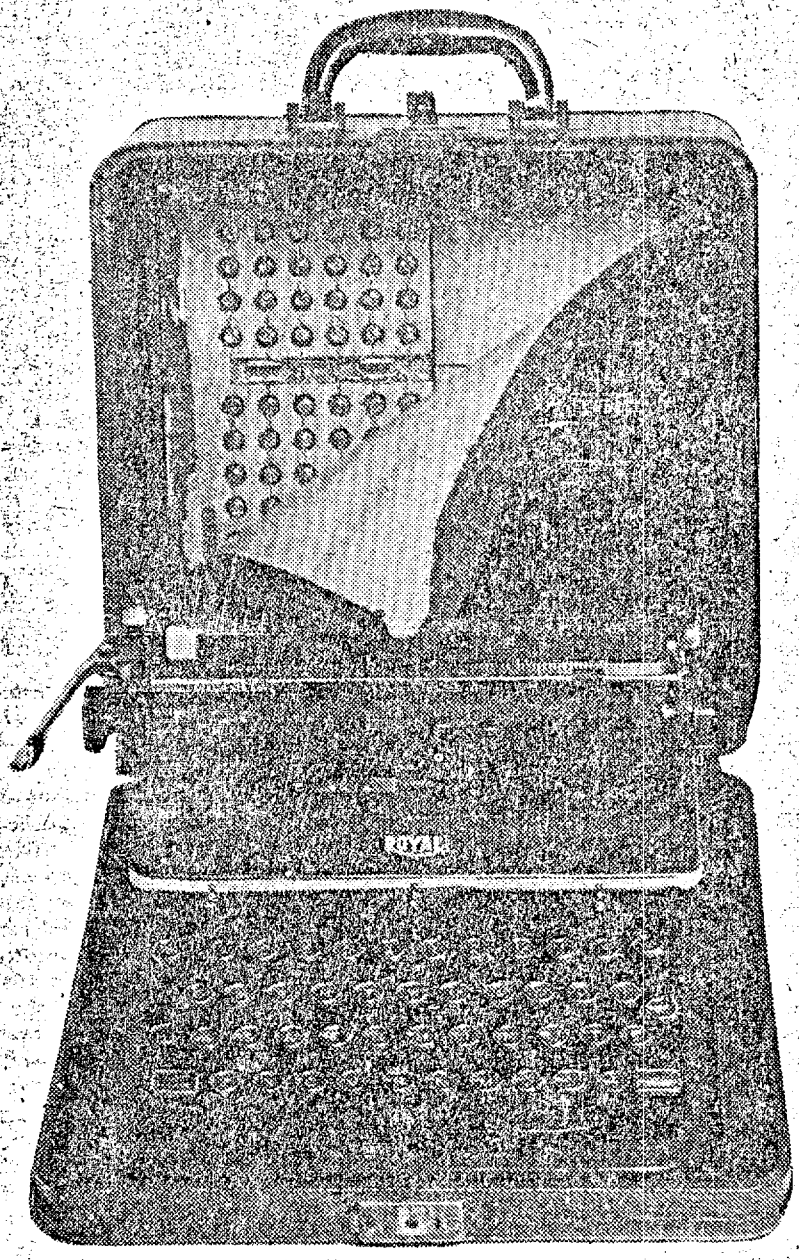
RENDEZVOUS IN GENEVA

My Spy Exposed

By Philip Agee



One of the loose ends left hanging when I went to London in late 1972 was the mystery of Leslie, my benefactor during those difficult months in Paris when I was struggling to write the story of my work in the CIA.

Just as I returned to Paris after six months of research and study in Havana, I had a visit from a former CIA colleague who said he came from Washington to ask what my book was to be about. I assured him that my presentation would be theoretical, without naming any names or damaging the Agency, and that I would be pleased to present my manuscript to the CIA for review prior to publication. For the time being, I needed to avoid any confrontation with the Agency, for I still had months of research to complete.

At the Minerve Hotel, on Rue des Ecoles, I settled in to live and work, making only a few friends from among the Americans who lived in the hotel and some others who frequented *Le Yam's*, our corner cafe.

A few weeks before Easter, 1972, I met a young American journalist named Ferrera who occasionally came around to *Le Yam's* and who was friendly with Therese, a Canadian who was settling in the Quartier after tiring of the violence and pressures of New York City.

Therese, Sal and I often discussed the American scene until early morning. Sal, with his good nature and wit, was an "underground" journalist and had become a principal contact for American anti-war activists who came to Paris for peace conferences and demonstrations, and to visit the delegation of the PRG. I, of course, said nothing of the true nature of the book I was writing.

In May 1972, my money was running out. I decided to tell Sal who I was and what I was writing, in the hope that he could sell an interview and split the proceeds with me. He seemed a little too surprised and enthusiastic, but we agreed that he would do an interview and try to place it with a major American journal.

On the day of our first recording session, when we left the hotel for lunch, we spotted what was without any doubt a team of surveillance agents following us on Boulevard Saint Germain. After we shook off the surveillance by passing through the tunnels of the Faculty of Science at Jussieu, I decided to tell another friend, Catherine, of my book and see whether she would allow me to stay at her studio until I found another. She agreed, and on the night the first surveillance occurred, I left the hotel and went carefully to her place, a short walk from the station. In Catherine's studio I would experience, a few months later,

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one of the shocks of a lifetime—the end of one phase of this mystery and the beginning of another.

Sal began to lend me small amounts of money for food. Although he was curious and occasionally would ask, I refused to tell him where I had gone to live. Catherine was unknown to anyone else.

Towards the end of June, Sal invited me to dinner. The formality of his invitation was strange, but I accepted, and afterwards he suggested that we have some English beer at the Mayflower. Less than five minutes after we entered, a young woman carrying a copy of *Time* entered and took the stool next to mine. By and by we began to talk. Her name was Leslie Donegan, daughter of an American businessman in Venezuela and a Venezuelan-American mother, both of whom had passed away. She had a degree in Public Relations from Boston University and was sustained by the income from her parents' estate in Caracas which, from her manner of speaking, seemed by no means a pittance. I took her telephone number and left in time to catch the last Metro back—taking care, as I always did, to watch for possible surveillance.

A few days later Sal came up with an idea. Leslie was an heiress. She was interested in Latin American politics, seemed politically liberal enough, and was planning to spend the summer in Paris after having just finished a year of study at the University of Geneva. She might fancy becoming a patroness of the arts by financing me through the completion of my book. My situation was desperate. I had been forced to return my typewriter to the rental shop in order to get back the deposit for food. As luck would have it, a friend of Sal's had left a typewriter with him, and I could use it for a while. Leslie's support might be the solution to my deepening anxieties.

I took Sal's suggestion, called Leslie, and immediately received an invitation for dinner the next evening. Leslie's modern studio apartment was on the eighth floor of a new twenty-story building, a ten-minute walk from the metro station.

Leslie bought me dinner at a cozy, candle-lit restaurant near her building, and, glowing with wine, we bought another bottle and headed back to her studio. I had decided not to tell her the true nature of my book before getting to know her a little, so we spent most of the evening talking about Spain, Latin America, the University of Geneva, and her Spanish boyfriend, who was coming from Geneva to visit her in about ten days.

In a few days I saw her again, and it was not long before I was telling her that I was a former operations officer in the CIA and that my book was an account of how the CIA operates and of what I and others in the CIA had been doing in Latin America. On hearing of my penury she said she would help, but she wanted to see what I had written. A couple of days later Leslie and I stood for three hours at the copy machine in the Sorbonne, copying about 250 pages of an early draft that I had removed from the safe deposit box in the nearby Société Generale bank where I kept my writing and important papers safe from any eventuality. I left the material with her, returned the copies to the safe deposit box, and promised not to call her for the next few days—she wanted it that way because her boyfriend was visiting for the weekend.

Leslie returned the draft to me the following week, and although she was not terribly enthusiastic over what she read, she agreed to help me. By now she had already given me a few hundred francs, which I immediately spent on food and some overdue essentials. This time Leslie gave me 500 francs and promised 500 more in a couple of weeks. Relief was at last at hand.

From the beginning I tried to compartmentalize my developing situation with Leslie from my continuing relationship with Sal. To my consternation he was exceedingly slow in getting our interview transcribed. I wondered about Sal, not least because from time to time I would discover the surveillance again—almost always after having seen him. Sal was now receiving all my mail so that I would not have to give my secret address to my sons and parents in America, but he persisted in listing the advantages of his being able to reach me on short notice—which was impossible as he didn't know where I lived.

Soon Leslie became tired of the Paris summer and went to Spain, leaving me with more money and her studio apartment. She tried to persuade me to accompany her to Spain, offering to pay all my expenses, but I declined. From Spain Leslie sent me still more money, which, though not excessive, was all I had besides the continuing small loans from Sal. Each night after leaving the studio, I would go back to my secret hideaway at Passage des Eaux, always taking great care to leave the metro on the Left Bank to cross the Pont de Bir-Hakeim on foot, so as to observe better, or at Trocadero to wander down among the gardens and fountains in order to get lost in the crowds and the dark.

When Leslie returned to Paris in late September to turn back the studio to its owner, she ruined my compartmentation by taking a hotel room just a few doors from Sal's room and only a block from *Le Yam's*. It seemed that suddenly everyone knew of each other's participation in my project, and soon Sal and Leslie were planning to go to London with me to help in the final research in the British Museum Newspaper Library.

A couple of days after the American publisher rejected my book, a crushing blow after almost three years' work, I was to meet Sal at the *Choppe Monge*, but Leslie came instead—by now she had moved in with Sal although she also kept her hotel room. It was cold and rainy and she had a bad case of flu. A few hours

earlier, when Sal was away, the owner of the typewriter that Sal had lent me months earlier came to get it. According to Leslie, he was furious that Sal had given his typewriter to someone else, and he demanded it back immediately. She had gone out and bought me a used typewriter, which she gave me, so that I would not be left without any typewriter at all. I would have to get the first typewriter right away and return it to Sal later that afternoon.

A few days later over pizza at *Chez Pietro*, Leslie seemed hurt when I told her that I had left her typewriter at Therese's room and hadn't used it yet. Later, Sal warned me that if it were stolen from Therese's room, where things had already disappeared—and we all knew Therese never locked the door—then Leslie might stop financing the

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named Leslie. It seemed that his friend had a young Spanish friend, no longer in Geneva, who confided one day that his girlfriend was working for the CIA. The girl had told her boyfriend that the CIA had recruited her for assignment at the University of Geneva, where she was studying, and that while at the University, the CIA paid her rent and salary. Moreover, according to Jorge, she revealed to her boyfriend that the CIA sent her to Paris to work against me. Her true name was Janet Strickland.

It all seemed to fit but I wanted to be sure. This would not be difficult because Janet Strickland was still in Geneva and was working for none other than the International Labor Organization. Leslie Donegan, good old Leslie, a spy at the ILO? This I had to see.

I went around to Janet's apartment, no. 8 on the 8th floor of a big, new luxury building called Matutina Park at Avenue du Bouchet. Though the building was not as tall, her Geneva pad was on the order of the modern studio that Leslie had taken in Paris for the summer of 1972. Security was fairly good—doors locked with entry controlled by the inhabitants through the electronic porter system. Still, I had to see her. We rang. No answer. Janet was probably away for the weekend.

I went on to Milan. Over Christmas and New Years we had a family vacation in Italy, but during the first week of January 1976 I returned to Geneva. I had to see her face to know for sure if I had finally found Leslie.

On Monday morning I waited for her, seated in Jorge's car with a scarf around my head, watching for Leslie to leave Matutina Park. Lots of people and cars came from the garage, but not Leslie. I went to the ILO.

According to the ILO Staff List of February 1975, Janet Strickland was an employee of the Central Library and Documentation Branch. I wondered if that gave her access to all ILO documents—not bad for a CIA agent—or whether her current CIA assignment was to spot possible new agents, perhaps from Third World countries, who would be recruited in Geneva and eventually sent back to their countries to continue working for the Agency.

While still working for the CIA in the 1960's, I had learned that the Agency had a station under the cover of the U.S. Mission to the European Office of the U.N. in Geneva. I had also learned that this Station had among its priorities the recruitment of U.N. people and people in other organizations who could penetrate and exercise influence from the inside—an operation that seemed doomed if measured by the U.N. voting patterns against U.S. policies.

The Geneva Station also had, as the Paris, London, and other European Stations, the task of recruiting Third World people for use while in Europe, but especially for use when they returned to their home countries. Possibly one of Leslie-Janet's jobs was to arrange introductions between CIA officers in the Mission and the possible agents she had been spotting and assessing. The officer under diplomatic cover would then take over the case, bring along the prospective agent to the point of recruitment, and, if such was not accepted, at least the woman would be protected and could continue with other possible agent recruits. Leslie would be perfect for that. I wondered which of the CIA officers in the Mission might be in charge of her case—already I had begin to identify the CIA officers in the Mission and there seemed to be about 12-15 not counting all the clerical, communications and other support personnel.

I entered the ILO building through the garage and walked around looking for stairways and elevators. I wanted a quick way to get out if Leslie-Janet recognized me and reacted strongly. At that moment I remembered her as a hard, tough woman with little feeling and maybe capable of violence.

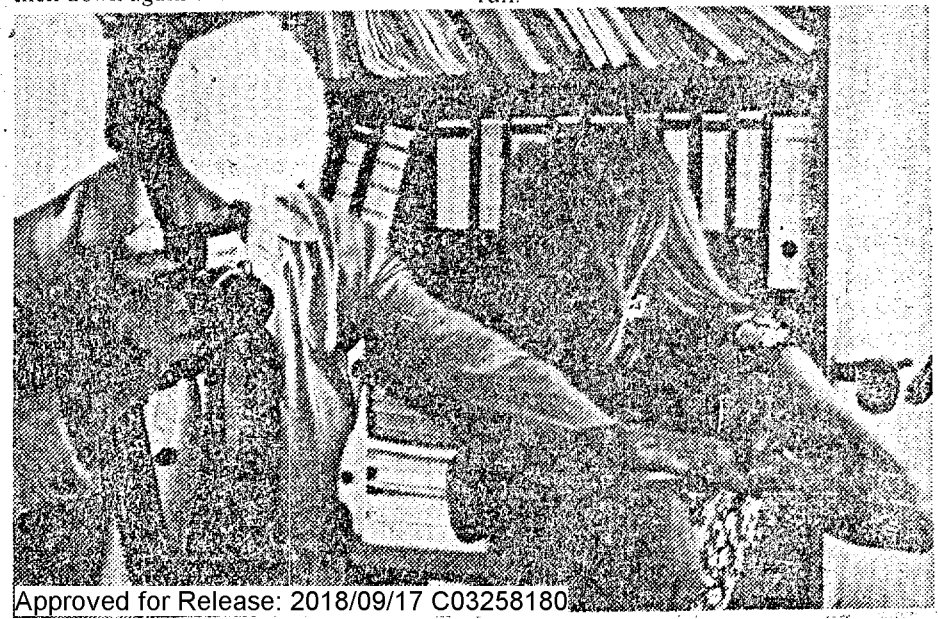
Janet's office was at the far end of the building, number 159 on the ninth floor. I walked down the long hallway from the elevator, took a deep breath, turned the corner and walked by number 159. Empty! Back down to the cafeteria, fifteen minutes over coffee, no sight of Leslie there.

Back up to the ninth floor. Down the hallway and around the corner to 159. There she was, talking on the telephone. I slowed down, almost stopped, to make absolutely sure it was her face. She was wearing a lot of make-up now but behind it all was my Leslie. She looked up at me, then down again without reaction as she continued her conversation. I don't think she recognized me—I looked different too, shorter hair, heavier, different clothes and glasses. Good! At least I know where she is, and if luck holds she won't know that I've found her. And if she and the CIA don't know, they won't be able to move her quickly to some other job or country.

But then, maybe she isn't still working for the CIA. Possibly, but why did they give her another identity when they sent her to Paris? Or is Janet Strickland an assumed identity too? But not that many people are willing to work as CIA agents. Not after Chile, cobra venom, shellfish toxin, poison dart guns, CHAOS and other crimes. Surely not after the escalation of torture and political repression in so many countries where the CIA has been hard at work. Leslie did her job in Paris, so why wouldn't the CIA do everything in its power to keep her working in Geneva? Besides, that Matutina Park pad should demand a pretty rent—probably too much for a Grade Seven employe of the ILO.

I wondered how she got the ILO job. Who recommended her? What personal references did she give? In any case she's had choice assignments: University of Geneva, Paris, then back to Geneva and the ILO.

On June 9, 1976, I returned to the ILO to obtain photographs to show to Janet-Leslie's old friends in Paris. I had decided to confront her. She was now in a different office and when at first I entered, she acted as if she didn't know me, rather in jest. But as soon as she saw the photographers at work, she stood up, turned fearful, and tried to hurl one of the photographers across the office. She fled down the hallway, probably into another identity, another life. Perhaps someday with coordination we can keep more of them, like Leslie, on the run.



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Books

Moment of Urgency

THE KISSINGER STUDY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, National Security Study Memorandum 39, Edited and Introduced by Mohamed El-Khawas and Barry Cohen, Lawrence Hill and Co., 189 pages; paperback $3.95; Cloth $6.95.

By Edgar Lockwood

The end of white rule in southern Africa draws closer day by day. The collapse of the Portuguese colonial regime, brought about by the guerilla liberation armies, has shortened the time frame within which we look at the future. We are bound to feel now that the schedule will be written in years, not in decades as one might once have felt. The domino theory, while it has no validity as a forecast of white collapse, still has some use as a projection of a series of linked victories. First the crisis will come in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and white rule by a five percent minority will be ended; next it will be the turn of Namibians to liberate themselves; at length, by processes that can be intuitively felt but not known, South Africa itself, the heart of apartheid's monster, will fall.

For the United States government, what was once a matter of leisurely planning and haphazard rationalization of contradictory interests and political postures becomes a question of moment and urgency, full of allegedly global consequence. Secretary Kissinger's intervention in Angola makes it plain that, for him, the forces of communism, which had been defeated in the Congo in the Sixties, are winning new and dangerous influence in central and southern Africa, not only destabilizing the region but also threatening a momentous shift in the world balance of power. Why this sequential conclusion should necessarily follow is a matter of puzzlement as well as almost daily comment. For this reason, if for no other, it is urgent that all Americans interested in these issues read this book. In it we have the original text, unexpurgated and unabridged, of a secret study memorandum prepared at Dr. Kissinger's direction in 1969 in order to furnish the National Security Council with options for United States policy toward southern Africa.

But isn't this by now outdated, and in any case, isn't it just a study paper? Was policy actually changed as a result of this study?

Of course, the memorandum is dated. It was written before the Portuguese coup, before the defeat of the United States in Vietnam, before the Watergate scandals, before the Arabs imposed a new price for energy on the West, before the deterioration of capitalist economies because of inflation, scarcities of mineral supplies and energy, loss of productivity, etc.,—and before the Angolan war. The facts of the memorandum can be brought up to Mohamed El-Khawas and Barry Cohen have done in important and useful introduction. With this accomplis it will be seen that the "tangible interests" which form the foundation of US policy under any of the five optio elaborated in the memorandum are much greater in th mid-seventies than they were in 1969.

By the end of 1974, US direct investment in Soutl Africa had risen to 40 percent of all US investment i Africa from a level of 25.8 percent in 1968. At the sam time, trade had doubled without diminishing the two-t one favorable balance. Arguing from the results and foreseeable trend, we can see that Option 2 has i amounted to an encouragement of US investment and in South Africa.

State Department spokesmen tried to play down th importance of National Security Study Memorandum 3 when it was first revealed in detail by Tad Szulc and Jack Anderson in the fall of 1974, saying that Option Two wa never chosen and that no decision was reached to change policy in accordance with Option Two. Technically, these statements may be correct, but they are in fact completely misleading.

Kissinger recommended to President Nixon in January 1970, that he approve a general posture of partial relaxation along the lines of Option Two as presented at the National Security Council meeting on December 10, 1969 This would mean, he wrote, balancing US relations in the area by compensating for, rather than abandoning, US tangible interests in the white states, lowering the anti-apartheid profile at the United Nations, quietly relaxing bilateral relations with South Africa by taking a less doctrinaire approach to mutual problems, avoiding pressure on the Portuguese and increasing aid (by about $5 million) and making other gestures to black states.

Option Two was not adopted verbatim, true. Certain of its features given as operational examples were altered. Kissinger recommended that through 1970 at least the Navy continue to limit calls at South African ports to emer-

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gencies only. Clearly, this sort of action remains too highly visible, invites racial antagonism in the crew and is a politically volatile issue without any compensating necessity to require it. EXIM policies would be loosened some, but not all the way; the test seemingly was whether the loosening up amounted to a visible promotion of trade.

Subsequently, the decisions taken were, apparently, incorporated in a National Security Decision Memorandum, dated close to the end of January, 1970.

What Option Two represents is a compromise, a straddle between option One—which was advocated by the Department of Defense and is often called the Dean Acheson position, after its advocate over the years—and Option Three, which was a codification of the Kennedy-Johnson-era policy advocated by the State Department's liberal Africa Bureau. These advocacies continue. Thus, the repeal of the Byrd Amendment, which undercut US compliance with UN sanctions against Rhodesia, is advocated professionally by the Africa Bureau, yet disparaged, discouraged or delayed by Defense, Treasury and Commerce, each for a different reason which is thoroughly "tangible": strategic, commercial and economic. The result is a kind of dichotomy, a hypocritical, rhetorical stance which is politically unenacted and a continuing stasis in which the White House remains unwilling to bend Republican arms lest it offend its business patrons to put marginal pressure on the Ian Smith regime. Meanwhile, however, the Africa Bureau is gradually being weeded out. The liberals are being rusticated. Donald Easum, former Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, for example, has been removed and sent to Nigeria, having returned from a tour of Africa during which he spoke in forceful terms against South Africa's intransigence. Foreign policy officers with experience in key countries of Latin America where CIA operations have been executed (such as Chile, Guatemala and Cuba) have been installed in South Africa, Zaire and elsewhere. These changes have not all been effective. Nathaniel Davis, for example, a veteran of Chile, opposed Kissinger's hardline policy on Angola, even though he had been appointed to succeed Easum (apparently because he was believed to be much more sensitive to Kissinger's wishes than Easum).

Within the dialectical process, however, the synthesis of contradictory tendencies was achieved by the application of a Kissingerian analysis. By reading NSSM 39, we are allowed to see how the staff approached a problem by laying it out in its full actual detail with all US underlying interests bared. What is so chilling is the rationality of what is so fundamentally wrong and morally desiccated. Here we see realpolitik at work in the nude, unclothed with diplomatic rhetoric and unadorned by obfuscation. Here we can see the balancing of interests, the trade-offs and the considerations that preoccupy the national security manager of our time, who has shaped US foreign policy for seven years, almost single-handedly.

I agree fully with the admirable analysis of the authors' introduction to NSSM 39, which needs no further elaboration. Perhaps it may not be amiss to stress a few points which deserve special emphasis:

First, the writers of the classified document do not seem to understand what black people want when they say they want majority rule. The issue is defined as the "racial issue" or "discrimination". At no point is it defined as a transfer of power to Africans. The most that the NSSM writers could envision the United States working for would be "progress" involving "participation" by blacks in a white power structure, a qualified franchise, advances in wages and organizational power, etc. Such progress is similar to the proposal rejected recently by the moderate leader of the Zimbabwe African National Council (international wing), Joshua Nkomo.

Second, we should understand the new significance of a minerals shortage which has been illuminated and studied since the Arab oil embargo. South Africa and Rhodesia are now more important to the survival of the industrialized western world than ever before. Specifically, I would like to refer to the declassified version of a White House study of 16 strategic minerals, which was published in December 1974. (Special Report, Critical Imported Materials, Washington, D.C. Council on International Economic Policy, December, 1974.)

> Embargoes of raw materials are highly unlikely. They do not make economic sense in terms of producers' revenue objectives . . . An embargo, however, may be undertaken for political reasons, as in the case of the Arab oil producers . . .
>
> Canada, Australia, or South Africa would be unlikely to participate in any embargo of exports to the United States, Western Europe or Japan. Since these three countries are the most important sources of raw materials for the United States (and are very important for Western Europe and Japan), any embargo threat for commodities they produce is greatly diminished.

If Western Europe proceeds with its projected plans to shift its energy sources to nuclear power, there will be a very significant shortage of nuclear fuel by 1980 unless new enrichment facilities are brought into existence close to sources of uranium. South Africa has 30 percent of the world's uranium reserves and a new uranium enrichment process.

Third, the United States intervention in Angola meant that the United States began to assume active responsibility for securing the stability of the southern African region against liberation movements that are anti-imperialist. Through the CIA, the US assisted in bringing about the active collaboration of South Africa with Zambia, Zaire and two black political movements in a common plan of action. That it failed does not mean that similar kinds of operations will not be attempted utilizing the lessons of that experience. It is interesting to note in the NSSM 39 the emphasis the authors place on South Africa and Zambia as key elements in the plan to stabilize the region.

I am personally very grateful that the publisher of this American edition has had the courage and the foresight to put into the hands of ordinary citizens the plan facts about how "our" security is planned through collaboration with racist and fascist regimes. That knowledge should arm us to resist.

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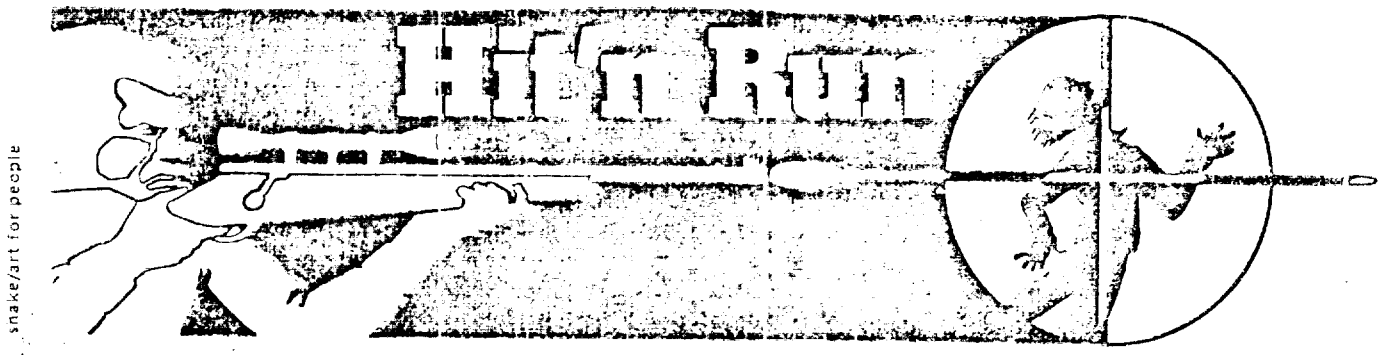

snake/art for people

West German Revolutionary Raped, Hanged in Cell

New Evidence in Meinhof Case Points to Murder, Not Suicide

Ulrike Meinhof, a leader of what the press calls the "Baader-Meinhof group," was strangled and raped in her cell in Stammheim prison, near Stuttgart, West Germany, according to new evidence presented at an international commission of inquiry held in Stuttgart August 26th by the German Writers Union. Previously undisclosed information, from police reports and autopsies, contradicted official government findings that she had committed suicide by hanging herself with a towel.

From the start, official reports of Meinhof's death in June were confused: contradictory accounts were issued about how the towel had been secured, and how officials found the position of her body. The official conclusion was that she had torn the towel into strips; knotted them into a rope; looped it around a metal window screen; then, with her head in the loop, jumped off a chair.

An official autopsy was carried out hours after the discovery of the body and before her family or lawyers even had a chance to see the corpse. The autopsy, performed by Joachim Raushke and Joachim Mallach, two professors of forensic medicine, reported that the body was found hanging with her left heel still resting on the chair. Earlier accounts, however, had not mentioned any chair in her cell. Meinhof's lawyers were skeptical and questioned how her foot could have been found resting on the chair. Did the chair exist? Hanging victims usually have violent convulsions; the chair would have been kicked away.

This was not the only conflict in the autopsy report examined by *CounterSpy*. The report states Meinhof was dressed in dark corduroy pants, a shirt (with its sleeves rolled up) and dark wool socks. Raushke and Mallach found saliva on Meinhof's skin, a common feature of death by hanging or strangulation. But it ran from her breast to her navel, suggesting she was not fully clothed when she died.

The most damaging evidence presented at the inquiry was a report from the Stuttgart public prosecutor which documented that semen was found on Meinhof's underwear. The official autopsy also found small, blue patches, possibly bruises, on Meinhof's legs; similar marks are often found on victims of rape. The autopsy dismisses the marks as "without significance" and concludes that Ulrike Meinhof hanged herself.

Another examination of the body conducted two days later, raised more questions. The Meinhof family brought in another forensic expert, Werner Janssen, to perform the autopsy. He found that parts of the body cut away had determined it was impossible to reconstruct exactly what had happened. The fingernails had been scraped clean, so that he could find no evidence of skin or fiber under the nails to indicate whether or not Meinhof herself had handled the towel.

Janssen also noted the blue patches on both legs and said they were inflicted by blunt objects while she was still alive. But he added; "This could have been the consequence of hurting herself while hanging." He also noted that the conjunctiva, a delicate membrane that lines the eyelids, showed no signs of bleeding. *CounterSpy* has shown copies of both autopsy reports to Dr. Cyril Wecht, a well-known forensic pathologist and Pittsburgh coroner. Dr. Wecht stated that an absence of conjunctival bleeding is most unusual where death is caused by hanging, and is more typical of strangulation.

Janssen was reluctant to comment on the significance of his findings. His report concludes that there was no proof of third-party involvement in the death. But he emphasized that for a final evaluation, all the tests conducted in the previous autopsy should be made available, as well as reports of how the body was discovered in the cell.

Lawyers sought expert medical advice from pathologists outside of Germany and many of these experts have found other puzzling aspects to the case. For example, the fracture of the hyoid bone at the base of the tongue—found in both

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autopsies—revealed throttling, not a suicidal hanging. The fact that the aorta was apparently undamaged also pointed to murder.

The commission of inquiry raised the possibility that Meinhof's death had political motivations.

Meinhof, 41 when she died, was one of the leading New Left journalists in West Germany during the 1960's. She and her husband, Klaus Rainer Röhl, edited a Hamburg magazine, *Konkret*, which was instrumental in the growth of Germany's New Left. Its editorial style was modern and adventurous; in the words of the *New York Times*, it preferred "the methods of Playboy to those of Pravda." Meinhof and her husband raised nearly $250,000 from the orthodox East German Communist Party to finance *Konkret* but they never promoted an orthodox line. Although both were members of the then secret West German Communist Party, *Konkret* often criticized orthodox communism.[1] Yet her brilliant polemics, during the decade that *Konkret* unified the German opposition to the Vietnam war, reveal more affection for the red flag than the black.

Meinhof and her contributions to *Konkret*, were instrumental in the achievements of the German militant left —seizing the West Berlin Free University, organizing tens of thousands of protest marchers to descend on Bonn, and, eventually, developing factions proposing to take power through armed struggle. Motivating Meinhof was her desire to transform the German youth movement into a mass force against American imperialism. She saw the left debilitated and reduced to theoretical impotence by never-ending defeats in decades of struggle.

But Meinhof, like many American New Leftists, grew weary of the abstract idealism of the 60's. She also feared the random violence she saw perpetrated by Western Europe's most prosperous and powerful society.

By the 1970's she had rejected what her husband termed "Christian pacifism." She broke with *Konkret* and left Röhl.

Taking her twin daughters with her, she moved to West Berlin and began a new life devoted to the plight of the underprivileged—from orphans to convicts —recruiting for the revolution as she went along. Although her friends say she missed the old world of artists, poets, witty conversation, and left-wing cocktail parties, she was soon an established figure in the world of shabby, zealous, blue-jeaned radicals. She wrote a critique of *Konkret* editorial policies denouncing the magazine for its nude

pin-ups and its role as an "organ of counter-revolution." She was convinced now that a German revolution called for more direct measures than those offered by the peace demonstrations she organized or publications she edited. She saw urban guerrilla warfare as the only means available to achieve her original goal of a mass anti-imperialist movement guided by Marxist principles.

In 1968, she met Andres Baader. Baader had turned his back on the temptations of his father's middle-class educational ideals and had become a fiery preacher of violent revolution. He and his comrade, Gudrun Ensslin, whose father was a Protestant pastor, had been arrested for setting fire to two Frankfurt department stores. Meinhof interviewed him and caused a stir by writing in her *Konkret* column that the acts of arson were politically "progressive." She said they represented audacious defiance of the law. In 1970, Meinhof became involved in a plot to free Baader from jail. The escape attempt was daring but successful.

Meinhof, Baader, Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe formed the Red Army Fraction—the first and foremost of Germany's urban guerrilla groups. Meinhof saw the group as a "fraction" of an eventual proletarian army (in English, the name of the group is often mistranslated as "Red Army Faction"). But to the press they were, and are, the Baader-Meinhof Group.

Starting in 1970, the Red Army Fraction initiated an urban guerrilla offensive. Millions of people watched their exploits on television. A surprisingly high percentage of young Germans indicated in a poll that they liked the idealism of the guerrilla movement and, hypothetically would help them hide or get away. Many older Germans thought the Red Army Fraction members should be shot by a firing squad. Hardly a day went by without the police reporting some new incident. American installations in West Germany, such as the National Security Agency headquarters in the I.G. Farben building in Frankfurt (used for U.S. intelligence coordination during the Vietnam war) were fire-bombed; other actions against U.S. military presence in Germany; and frequent shoot-outs with police. Eventually, other groups emerged

— *continued on page* 35

Above: Ulrike Meinhof after the murder. German officials want us to believe the strange mark on her neck was left by the towel with which she supposedly hung herself. The May 20, 1976 issue of Der Stern *magazine which ran this photo never got into the United States.* Stern *is the only magazine that has received the photo and even the Meinhof's lawyers cannot get their hands on an original. The photo was a two-page spread, thus the faint line down the middle. Political observers believe the photo ran as a scare tactic against German leftists.*

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Earthquake Warfare

Preliminary Report on Pentagon's Unthinkable Plans

By Robert Friedman

Is earthquake warfare on the Pentagon's drawing boards? Far-fetched as the idea may seem, seismologists - many of them working under contract with the Defense Department - have learned over the past decade of at least two ways of causing earthquakes. While the Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA), which funded some of the research, says that the U.S. does not now have the military capability of setting off earthquakes, it does admit that it has explored the feasibility of seismological warfare.

Counterspy's interest in artificial earthquakes began when former Lt. Col. Anthony Herbert who was forced out of the Army in 1972 for trying to expose war crimes in Vietnam - revealed in an interview that he had been assigned in the mid-1960's to gather intelligence on potential sites for the planting of underground and underwater nuclear devices. According to Herbert, these devices were to be placed along a fault running from Kenya up through the Persian Gulf with the specific purpose of triggering earthquakes. The U.S. planned to activate the bombs, Herbert said, as a final military strategy should the region be lost to hostile forces.

Herbert's reconnaissance work was conducted from 1965-66 under orders from the Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara. At the time, Herbert was stationed in the Middle East aboard "The Little White Fleet" - three military spy ships that sailed under diplomatic cover. He and a group of divers explored the floor of the Persian Gulf, collected soil samples, and, in some cases, inserted inoperative "clay plugs" the size of a portable nuclear device on the ocean bottom. Herbert said he has no knowledge of what was done with his reports or whether live nuclear weapons were ever planted along the fault.

Throughout the 1960's, under Project VELA, the Defense Department funded seismological research to perfect methods for the detection of underground nuclear explosions. In the course of the Pentagon's own nuclear testing program in Nevada and the Pacific, scientists discovered that such explosions cause minor earthquakes which can be detected hundreds of miles away. Project VELA studied how to monitor these aftereffects and how to distinguish them from real earthquakes. The research for this program was conducted mostly at American universities, such as: the Hawaii Institute for Geophysics at the University of Hawaii; the Lamont Geological Observatory at Columbia University; the Stanford Research Institute; the Geophysical Institute at the University of Alaska; and the Scripps Institution of Oceanography at the University of California in La Jolla. One unclassified study, conducted at the University of Hawaii under ARPA contract (No. Nonr-3748-01), monitored T-Phases in the Pacific. T-Phases are sound waves generated by earthquakes which travel through the ocean.

In 1969, ARPA began a new program, growing out of Project VELA, which it code-named PRIME ARGUS. An ARPA spokeswoman would only say that PRIME ARGUS "extended the research begun under VELA to detect and identify nuclear explosions," and that it was terminated in 1974. But, in a recent book on weather modification, *The Cooling*, Lowell Ponte writes: "The Pentagon has studied ways to detect and cause earthquakes through PRIME ARGUS, a project of the Pentagon's Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency. It has studied lightning through the resources of Project SKYFIRE and hurricane manipulation through Project STORMFURY."

When asked about Ponte's statement, the ARPA spokeswoman said, "There are doomsday writers who say it is possible to use earthquake[illegible] tidal waves as weapons. The[illegible] the art is not at the point[illegible] know how to do that." The spokeswoman later admitted, however, that the Defense Department had "looked into" the possibility of causing earthquakes.

But, in fact, scientists do know how to trigger earthquakes. According to several seismologists contacted by *Counterspy*, it is possible to start an earthquake by the injection of fluids, under high pressure, into the earth's crust. Several experiments have been done causing such manmade earthquakes, most notably in Rangely, Colorado. And ARPA itself, through its Waste Disposal Research Program--started as part of PRIME ARGUS and now under the auspices of the U.S. Geological Survey--has funded research in this area. One seismologist at the Lamont Geological Observatory explained that earthquakes induced by fluid injection are far more potent than those brought about by underground nuclear explosions. The character and magnitude of these artificial earthquakes apparently can be controlled. A spokesman for the U.S. Geological Survey stated that plans are now being drawn up to trigger earthquakes by fluid injection along the San Andreas fault in California to relieve stress in the earth's crust.

There is no evidence available that the Defense Department is applying this new knowledge about fluid-induced earthquakes to its military arsenal. But from Herbert's account of his activities in the Persian Gulf, and ARPA's admission that it looked into using earthquakes as weapons, it seems possible that research in this area is still continuing.

Robert Friedman, a freelance journalist, is an Associate Editor of CounterSpy.

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CIA AROUND THE WORLD

SHORTS

Paul N. Van Hee, Jr., an overseas salesman for a Michigan corporation which produces a military armored amphibious vehicle known as the Commando, was recently convicted of conspiring to export technical data from the United States to Portugal. In 1965, Van Hee had arranged the sale of 50 Commando vehicles to Portugal and obtained the necessary export license. When, for certain technical reasons, the **State Department** decided to revoke the export license, Van Hee recruited a group of individuals who had been involved in the development of the Commando in Michigan, and travelled with them to Portugal to manufacture a Commando-type vehicle there.

Before going to Portugal, they were able to make copies of a large number of blueprints of parts of the Commando vehicle without permission of their Michigan employer, and used these blueprints to build a plywood mock-up of the Commando. Later on, they arranged for the transfer of a prototype vehicle from West Germany to Portugal by way of Spain and used this prototype vehicle to construct a Portuguese Commando-like vehicle called the "Chamite." Van Hee was first convicted in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan and, on appeal, the Circuit Court affirmed the lower court's verdict. Van Hee's defense attorneys were F. Lee Bailey and Stewart T. Herrick. (See *CounterSpy* Vol 3, Issue 1 for more details on the CIA in Portugal.)

The CIA conducts drug-testing and behavior-modification experiments at the **California Medical Facility at Vacaville**, one of two principal sites for these experiments since 1953. Vacaville has long been a target of suspicion because of acts of political violence committed by) such distinguished alumni as SLA leader Donald "Cinque" De Freeze. Among the list of appraoches to behavior modification considered "appropriate to investigation" by the CIA at Vacaville, are radiation, electro-shock, psycho-surgery, harassment substances, and "paramilitary devices and materials." The CIA programs for conducting these experiments are known by the code names **"MK-Delta"** and **"MK-Ultra."**

The organ of the Bolivian Anti-fascist Resistance Committee in Paris, *Resistencia*, recently published the names of eleven CIA agents who are presently active in **Bolivia**. Headed by **James E. Anderson**, identified by former CIA agent **Phillip Agee** as the CIA station chief in La Paz since March 1974, the list included: **Frederick W. Latrash, William F. Rooney, Christian F. Frederick, William Askins, Jeffrey G. Peterson, John M. French, Herman Wesley Odom, Edward J. Gallner, Dwight Plymale and Joseph Trombino.**

Diallo Telli, the Guinean justice minister, arrested on charges of plotting to overthrow the Guinean Government, testified on August 23 that he worked for the CIA. Mr. Telli, who was the first secretary-general of the Organization of African Unity from 1964 to 1972, said in his deposition that the idea was mentioned first in 1971 by Henry Kissinger. Kissinger reportedly offered Telli either U.S. support to gain reelection to OAU leadership or a good job in America.

Mr. Telli said he was recruited in November 1974, with the Liberian ambassador to Conakry acting as mediator, and that his job was to supply the U.S. government with information. Other information coming from Conakry indicates that Telli was part of a plot involving the rightist Fulani population who worked with the French under De Gaulle to sabotage Guinean independence. The Fulani, according to reports, were to rebel in the countryside in support of a new government to be organized by Mr. Telli. The new government was to oppose the current government's policies of collective reserves for livestock and support private trade.

The Venezuelan weekly magazine *Elite* recently published revelations by **former CIA agent Manuel de Armas** about CIA activity in **Venezuela**. De Armas confirms charges made by another former CIA agent, **Phillip Agee**, and describes how the U.S. Embassy in Venezuela previously denounced as CIA headquarters there, was instrumental in preventing a U.S. official from meeting with Venezuelan officials to discuss oil policy.

Yamakawa Akio, reporting in *Ampo*, reveals the CIA connections of **Kodama Yoshio**, known as the Godfather of the Japanese and one of the prime fixers in the **Lockheed** bribes of high Japanese officials. His report makes clear that the roots of Lockheed corruption and its CIA connections go all the way back to Gen. MacArthur's Occupation Headquarters (GHO). Out of the GHO have come **Fukuda Taro**, president of Japan Public Relations Co., who served as a main pipeline between Lockheed and Kodama; **Shig Katayama**, president of the ID Corp., whose job was to issue fake receipts for money Lockheed scattered and **T. Oni**, manager of Lockheed's Mapan branch. T. Oni is reported to have collected intelligence for the OSS and later the CIA. Katayama (alias **Herman Michaels**) has been involved in narcotics traffic in the orient. Kodama operated a secret Japanese imperial intelligence network in China known as the **Kodama Organ** and later plundered strategic materials to such an extent that he was able to buy his way out of conviction of war crimes. He also used mineral assets to organize Japanese conservatives into the Liberal Party, later the LDP which rules Japan, and has promoted closer Japanese relations with the Korean dictatorship of Park Chung Hee. For more details, see *Ampo*, Vol. 8 No. 2, 1976, Pacific-Asia Resources Center, P.O. Box 5250, Tokyo Int. Japan.

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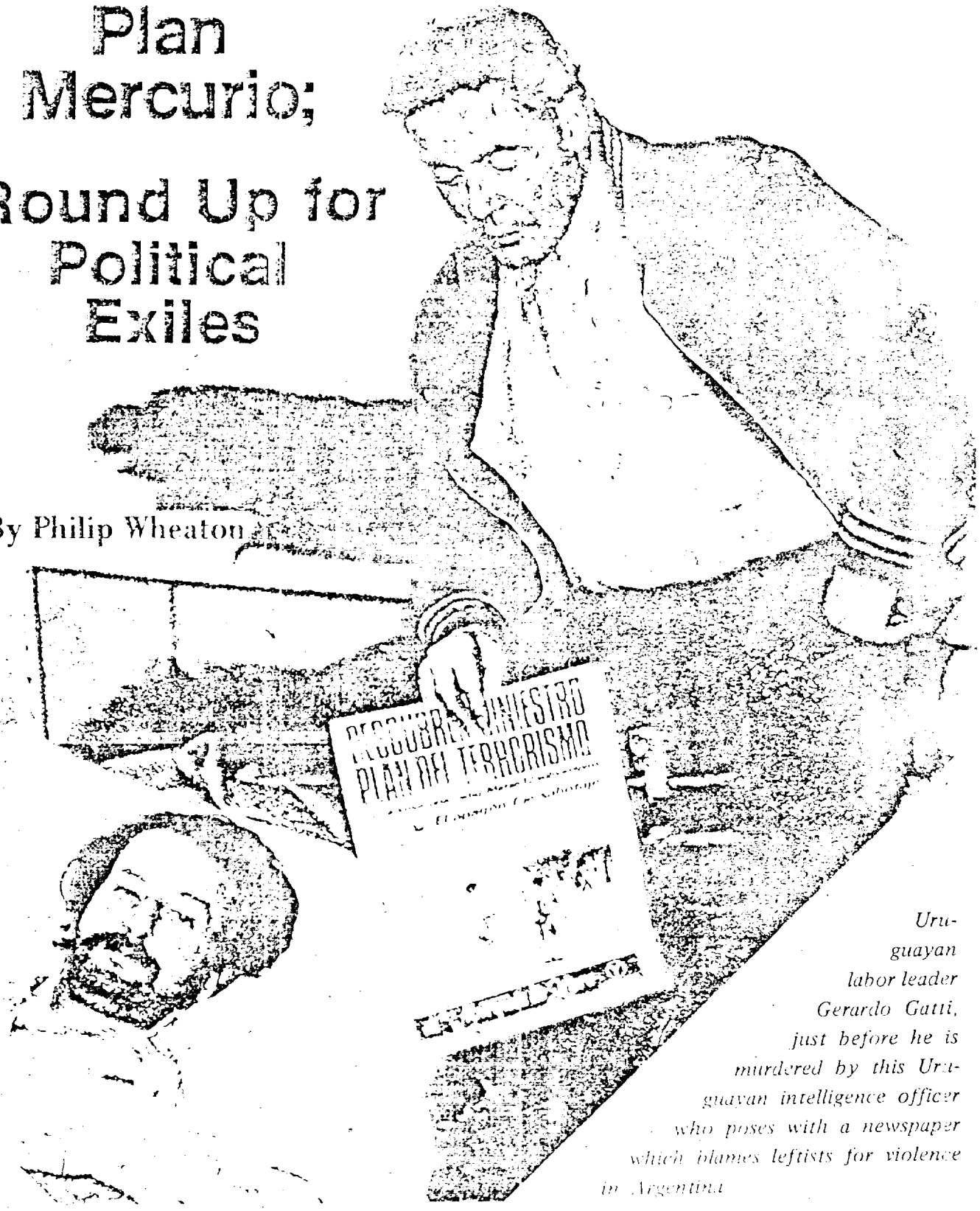
CIA AROUND THE WORLD

Plan Mercurio; Round Up for Political Exiles

By Philip Wheaton



Uruguayan labor leader Gerardo Gatti, just before he is murdered by this Uruguayan intelligence officer who poses with a newspaper which blames leftists for violence in Argentina

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Uruguay and Argentina Cooperate in Leftist Extermination Plan

The demise of democracy in the Southern Cone countries of Latin America is now complete. It was carried out by the application of extreme social repression by one military junta after another: Bolivia went to the right when President Juan Jose Torres was overthrown by Colonel Banzer's U.S.-trained "Green Berets" in 1972; Chile went fascist when President Salvador Allende was murdered in Chile's "White House," the Moneda, under orders from General Augusto Pinochet in September, 1973; the somewhat liberal General Velasco Alvarado was replaced by hard-line military leaders in Peru in August, 1975; Isabel Peron, clinging to her husband's fading popular support after his death, was finally asked to step down by the military junta led by General Jorge Rafael Videla in March, 1976; and, finally, President Juan Mario Bordaberry--who had already sold out Uruguay's weakening democracy by turning himself into a civilian dictator--was removed from power himself, by a fascist military nucleus last May.

But the popular forces did not give up easily. Indeed, many are still fighting for democracy from their particular undergrounds. But the extreme repression and, in certain countries, openly fascist torture and terror have forced thousands of students, populists, trade union leaders, and christians, as well as professed Marxists and opposition political party members to flee from their homelands--first from Bolivia, Uruguay, and Brazil into Chile; then, after September 11, 1973, from Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Paraguay into Argentina, which, under Juan Peron, at least appeared to provide a temporary sanctuary. But when Peron died, Isabel Peron's top aide, Jose Lopez Rega --assisted by a semi-governmental fascist organization, the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA)--quickly closed off that breathing space.

The Argentine military's return to power last March only changed the official nature of repression in that country, since, among other things, the AAA was "eliminated" when it was officially incorporated into the Army. On the other hand, by early 1974 officials of the military regimes throughout the Southern Cone realized they had a good segment of the hearts and the minds of Latin America's left trapped in Buenos Aires and other Argentine cities. This realization triggered the meeting of Banzer, Bordaberry and Pinochet with General Ernesto Geisel, head of the Brazilian military in Brasilia on March 16, 1974. It was this same realization, intended to take advantage of this situation, that led Rear Admiral Cesar Guzzetti, the Foreign Minister of Argentina to say: "The revolutionary war is concentrated in Argentina because the subversives were forced out of the neighboring countries and came here."[1]

The unique method used to deal with these "subversives" became apparent in the Spring and Summer of 1976 when systematic repression fell upon Uruguayan refugees in Argentina. On the morning of May 18, two prominent Uruguayan members of parliament, Deputy Hector Gutierrez Ruiz and Senator Zelmar Michelini, were abducted "noisily and without haste" from their residences in Buenos Aires by Uruguayan secret agents. These public kidnappings were described in detail in a recent publication:

> Both abductions occurred in the presence of numerous witnesses, including (Argentine) police and military personnel whose failure to intervene can only indicate that they had received orders to that effect. In the three days that followed, the Argentine authorities showed total disinterest in the matter: relatives of the victims were refused permission to lodge official complaints; investigations were promised but not undertaken; no one even came to collect fingerprints left by the abductors at the scenes of both crimes. On the evening of May 21, the bullet-ridden bodies of Michelini and Gutierrez were discovered in an abandoned car . . .[2]

More extensive details of this kidnapping and the open collusion between Uruguayan and Argentine officials recently came to light with the escape of an Uruguayan refugee from Argentina to Sweden on September 1, 1976, Washington Perez, a militant laborer. Perez was taken into custody by these officials in order to use Perez as a go-between between Gerardo Gatti Bueno and his Uruguayan friends in Argentina. Gerado Gatti was the founder of the Uruguayan Student Federation and the National Convention of Uruguayan Workers, and more recently, a member of the Worker-Student Resistance.

Gerardo Gatti was also a political refugee in Argentina at the time of his arrest on June 10, 1976. He was subsequently tortured and hung by his hands, handcuffed together. The handcuffs cut deeply into his wrist causing a bad infection witnessed by Perez during his brief conversations with Gatti about how to contact his friends in order to obtain the ransom money. Shortly thereafter Gatti was murdered and Perez was told by his captors ". . . not to ask any more about the problem of Gatti because he had been liquidated." Before Perez escaped to Sweden he corroborated the unique developments referred to in this report.

In an extensive testimony taped in Alvesta, Sweden on September 1, 1976, Washington Perez relates that on June 13, 1976 at 4 am he was taken from his house in Moron, Argentina in the custody of

> heavily armed men who identified themselves as Uruguayans and Argentines . . . stating they wanted me to go see someone (his close friend Gerardo Gatti), that they had nothing against me . . . I was able to identify them with absolute certainty, Commissioner Campos Hermida of the Uruguayan Police . . . (and) Colonel Barrios and Captain Bermudez of the Uruguayan military . . . with Inspector Castiglioni of the Intelligence . . .

In one of the brief private conversations they allowed Perez with Gatti, Perez recounts:

> I asked Gerardo if these officials weren't the

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same ones who had kidnapped and assassinated Senator Zelmar Michelini and Gutierrez in Argentina and we agreed they were . . .

These "subversives" are only a few outstanding names in a list of 35 Uruguayans who have disappeared from Buenos Aires between April and July 1976. More ominous has been the increasing number of bodies of Uruguayan leftists appearing on the shores of the River Plate and on back roads near Buenos Aires most of them horribly mutilated, clearly tortured prior to being murdered.

Argentina's official complicity with or indifference to these kidnappings, tortures, and political assassinations is attested to by their refusal to respond to protests, their rejection of appeals of *habeas corpus*, and their curious lack of any surprise as though they either knew about particular cases (such as those of Michelini, Gutierrez, and Gatti), or that the numerous group murders of Uruguayan refugees in Buenos Aires has some kind of official Argentine sanction. For instance, Senator Michelini h left a note with a friend indicating that he had learned plans to "remove him from Argentina" and that the pl had been discussed in a meeting between the Argenti military and Uruguay's Foreign Minister, Juan Car Blanco, shortly before Michelini's abduction.

But it was not until July 11, 1976, that this complic was revealed as part of an official agreement betw Uruguayan and Argentine authorities. On that day, a let was received by the President of Amnesty Internatio from the father of one of the young Uruguayans who disappeared in Buenos Aires. This letter reveals that so time in June, following the Michelini-Gutierrez murder high-level discussion was held between officials of the countries, ending with the decision "to go forward *Plan Mercurio* to its conclusion."

Following is the text of the letter to Am national:

Dear Amnesty International,

In the midst of our anguish and sense of desperation given the probable death of my son, we write to you in a desperate attempt after all other efforts with the responsible Uruguayan and Argentine authorities have failed.

My son disappeared in Buenos Aires on July 2, (1976) with no word as to his whereabouts until now.

I went immediately to Buenos Aires where I initiated the legal steps for an appeal of habeus corpus as well as knocking on dozens of doors of various military and police authorities. From all them, I received the same reply: "We have no information on th case; your son is not being held by those under our jurisdiction.

Then I decided to go to a lawyer thinking that such a person might be more effective and have better luck in these matters. I was greatly surprised to discover that no professional lawyer wanted to handle the case for fear of possible reprisals--which is the way they expressed their position to me.

Blocked at every turn and without knowing what to do, I resigned myself to making contact with an Argentine penal lawyer who had a prestegious office in the zone where the Courts are located; a person who had successfully arranged for the release of the son of an Argentine industrialist whom I know. Because of the nature of his work, this lawyer had connections with the police authorities, which led me to conclude that the exorbitant sum of $20 million pesos which he demanded for his services, justified my paying such a price.

At that moment, my concern was increasing daily given the disappearance of many Uruguayans from Buenos Aires, whose families had been unable to obtain any information about them. Furthermore, I was deeply troubled by the increasing number of unidentified cadavers that had been appearing in recent months along the shores of the Rio Plata. Added to these realities there was

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a rumor that had been circulating for some time, and one which increased after the assassinations of the well-known numbers of the Uruguayan Parliament, Zelmar Michelini and Gutierrez Ruiz, of the existence of a global plan for the physical elimination of all Uruguayan "leftists" who were living in Buenos Aires.

After many interviews with the lawyer to whom I had gone, and after his having received the largest portion of his honorarium in advance--a sum that represented an incredibly hard sacrifice for us--he used the old phrase that "there was nothing new" about my son, which seemed strange to me given the connections I knew he had with the authorities.

In my anguish and indignation, I played my last desperate card: I let him know of my decision to make known what I considered to be behavior bordering on fraud on his part, and that towards that end I would use the fact that I was someone important in Uruguay. He then promised to make one last effort and asked me to give him two days grace.

The last interview I had with him was something terrible which confirmed my worst suspicions. In what follows, I will try to sum up the essentials of the information he gave me, and I send it to you knowing that in doing so I am putting my own life in direct danger. As for my son, I am convinced that even if he is still alive, that I could not save him by my silence.

According to what the lawyer told us, the only thing that the hierarchy of the federal police--with whom he says he has connections of the strictest confidence--would tell him the facts which I mention in what follows:

1st. As far as the Argentine Secret Service is concerned, they claim they cannot be held directly responsible for what happens to any Uruguayans since they are being directly dealt with by the Intelligence Service of the Uruguayan Armed Forces, who have been operating officially in Argentina for several months.

2nd. The Uruguayan Secret Service is directly responsible--with the known support of the Argentine authorities--for what has been happening to Uruguayan residents in Buenos Aires, at least since 1975.

3rd. At this time, it would be impossible to negotiate the freedom or guarantee the life of our son, since, there is now underway, a so-called Plan Mercurio, whose purpose is to eliminate all Uruguayan leftists in both countries.

4th. This plan has the official support of the political-military authorities in both countries, notwithstanding the heavy discussions between them about this plan which was linked to the recent crisis within the Uruguayan government.

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5th. Since the death of Michelini and Gutierrez Ruiz, and since the kidnapping of Prof. Quinteros de Diaz from the Venezuelan Embassy, a decision was made to go forward with Plan Mercurio to its conclusion. What happened to my son was simply one more element in the application of said plan, together with the numerous disappearances which have been occurring recently.

6th. According to his informants, the case of our son is even more serious because they accuse him of belonging to the Worker Student Resistance, a group which the Uruguayan military now consider the principle target of its work of repression, just as the Communist Party was last December.

7th. This lawyer made reference to the existence of lists of names and photographs, each one with a prescribed punishment inscribed in the upper part of the photo, including a cross for those who had already been condemned to death. This is a confirmation of the version of the rumor that had been widely circulated in Buenos Aires for some time.

Mr. President of Amnesty International, if this letter reaches you, I beg you with all the energy and anguish a father in my situation can have, to do everything in your power to intervene in this matter. In this regard, we believe that the public knowledge of these happenings is the only thing that can save our son, and if this is not possible, that it may help save the other Uruguayans who are in mortal danger in Argentina at this moment.

Given the fact that after this letter is sent out, our own lives will be in danger also, I ask that you use the greatest possible discretion with respect to my identity. At the same time, I am enclosing a photocopy of the appeal for habeus corpus which I made after the disappearance of my son.

A father[5]

Plan Mercurio is more than a unique case reflecting the extremism of the present Uruguayan military junta in collusion with Argentine authorities. Just as the fascist practices of the present military junta in Chile cannot be disassociated from the larger global policies of the U.S. military-industrial-governmental complex and the specific "dirty tricks" of the Central Intelligence Agency, so too *Plan Mercurio* must be viewed within the context of a larger plan. One part of that plan involves U.S. intention to contain hemispheric "uprisings" even if these are indigenous and pro-democratic. Another side to this plan involves the intention of Latin American military leaders to remain in power indefinitely.

Examples of U.S. hemispheric containment abound in the case of Uruguay. For example, in 1964, CIA agents Philip Agee among others—funnelled large amounts of money into Chile from Montevideo in a successful attempt to prevent Salvador Allende from being democratically elected six years before his socialist democratic victory in 1970. Again, in September, 1970, Dan Mitrione, an agent of the U.S. International Police Academy (headquartered in Washington, D.C.) was executed by the Tupamaros. The reason Mitrione—as portrayed in the film "State of Seige"—was sent to Uruguay to train Uruguayan police and military towards the end of destroying the Tupamaro movement an AID-funded training program that was alleged using "violent methods of repression and the use of torture with the support of the (Uruguayan) government.[6]

What is particularly disturbing about *Plan Mercurio* is not merely that the military regimes of two bordering nations are coordinating their repression, but that such programs are appearing in more and more countries. For instance, the **Banzer Plan** in Bolivia aimed at crushing the progressive elements in the Bolivian Catholic Church; **Plan Eagle** whose objective is to wipe out the Sandinista National Liberation Front in tha

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country. And; there is the "Godfather" of them all, Brazil's **Escuardroa da Morte** (Death Squadron) whose goal was and still is the systematic elimination of all undesirables from Brazilian society, social or political. Even more disturbing is that these plans have an all too familiar ring to them, like the CIA's **Operation Phoenix** in Vietnam, whose goal was similarly the elimination of all suspected PRG supporters from certain areas.

All these *operaciones* are, of course, only the sophisticated instrumentalities of a new kind of regime that has evolved in Latin America–the highly regimented and integrated "national security state." These new military governments are not led by old-style *caudillo* dictators, even though their repression may seem no worse than that practiced by a Stroessner in Paraguay or by a Somoza in Nicaragua. Furthermore, these national security states are run by military tribunals, not by individual *generalisimos*. Significantly, these self-perpetuating military systems provide an "open door" policy to multinational corporations and, because of that, are looked on favorably by U.S. interests. The "instability" of Latin American democracy and popular movements have led to an operational, if not an official policy, of support by the U.S. Government of these military regimes as the new model for Latin American politics, just as Richard Nixon labelled Brazil's militarism as normative for the entire continent.

How do our leaders justify this juxtaposition of stated American values? The answer is to be found in the priority such leaders give–economic, military and governmental–to U.S. economics and geo-politics over democratic and human rights concerns. Because they demand free access by U.S. corporations into Latin American countries to exploit national resources and local markets, if militaristic national security states are the only way to secure these priorities, so be it. How these leaders deal with the moral and social contradictions such a policy creates was explained by Orlando Letelier–former Chilean Ambassador to the U.S. under Salvador Allende–in a telling article which appeared in *The Nation* this past August shortly before Letelier was, himself, assassinated by these same repressive forces:

> . . . No one has expressed this attitude better than the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury. After a visit to Chile, during which he discussed human rights violations by the military government, William Simon congratulated Pinochet for bringing "economic freedom" to the Chilean people (*N.Y. Times*, May 17, 1976). This particularly convenient concept of a social system in which "economic freedom" and political terror coexist without touching each other, allows these financial spokesmen to support their concept of "freedom" while exercising their verbal muscles in defense of human rights. . . . One would logically expect that if those who curtail private enterprise are held responsible for the effects of their measures in the political sphere (*eg.* Allende), those who impose unrestrained "economic freedom" (*eg.* Simon) would also be held responsible when the imposition of this policy is inevitably accompanied by massive repression, hunger, unemployment and the permanence of a brutal police state.[7]

Plan Mercurio should worry us Americans both as an instrument of terror and in terms of the national security states which foster such systematic repression. Furthermore, if U.S. agents can operate freely in Uruguay and Chile–as they have–and if the Uruguayan Secret Service can operate freely in Argentina–as they are now doing–why can't Chile's secret police, the DINA, operate freely in the United States–as many believe they did in connection with the assassination of Letelier in Washington, D.C. in September? And then, it is only one short step from specific and calculated murders of Michelini, Gutierrez Ruiz, Gatti and Orlando Letelier to more generalized policies like the one setting *Plan Mercurio* into action–a plan that quickly leads to the destruction of unknown sons of unknown fathers who tomorrow could be you or me.

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FOOTNOTES

1 Betries, Joyce, "U.S.'s Phoenix Plan for South America", *Workers World*, Sept. 3, 1976.

2 *Legislative Update*, Washington Office on Latin America, Washington, D.C., May-June, 1976, p. 1.

3 Perez, Washington, a literal transcript taped in Alvesta, Sweden on Sept. 1, 1976 and from a cassette transcribed to written form on Sept. 3 and 4, 1976 in London. Spanish text of this testimony is available from the Comite Rio de la Plata, Washington, D.C. Above quotes from pp. 2, 3 and 9.

4 The letter was first published on August 9, 1976 in *Informaciones* by Grupo de Informacion y Solidaridad Uruguayo (GRISUR) based in Geneva, Switzerland.

5 This father courageously sent the letter above to Amnesty International on or about July 10, 1976, though he was fearful of the probable consequences of his action. His name is Enrique Rodriguez Larreta, whose son, Enrique Carlos disappeared in Buenos Aires on July 2. By July 13, the father was also "arrested" and is now known to be dead. His identity can, therefore, now be revealed as proof of these systematic assassinations and as a powerful eulogy to his love for his son and the supreme sacrifice he made so that other Uruguayans might be saved.

6 *News Release*, Latin America Bureau, Division for Latin America, U.S. Catholic Conference, Washington, D.C., September, 1970.

7 Letelier, Orlando, "Economic 'Freedom's' Awful Toll", *The Nation*, August 28, 1976, p. 142.

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Revelations from CIA's Former Korea Chief

Donald Gregg reveals CIA Could Overthrow Park Dictatorship

By Steve McGuire

On October 6, 1976, an upper echelon CIA agent speaking at the University of Texas, warned that if President Park runs for another six year term, as he is expected to do, he will probably not live to serve out his term. The CIA agent left it open whether the CIA would support a coup against Park like the one in which Diem was assasinated in Vietnam. The agent was Don Gregg whose background for sounding such a warning includes being the CIA chief of station in Korea until last year. Gregg spent 18 of his 25 years in the CIA in Asia. Ten of those years were spent in Japan, the rest in the Marianas, Vietnam, Burma, and Korea.

The occasion for these surprisingly candid remarks was a trip to Austin, Texas to give a lecture for a course on "Policy Makers in Government" directed by Dr. Sidney Weintraub. Gregg had expressed an interest in meeting with foreign students and the Center for Asian Studies was prevailed upon to provide a meeting place.

Gregg had much to say about his work in South Korea and about General Park. He stated that South Korea must depend on the American CIA to provide intelligence information about the North. Gregg personally feels that the best thing which Park could do would be to resign. He could then be a national hero and also be responsible for South Korea's first peaceful change of government. However, the CIA feels that a coup right now might encourage the North to attack, so they continue to provide Park with information about coup attempts. Whether they will continue to do so in the future is unclear.

Gregg had high praise for Lt. General James F. 'Holly' Hollingsworth, former allied commander along the DMZ in Korea. An article which appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* recently (January 13, 1976, p. 1) pictured Hollingsworth as an old-style general whose primal instinct was to kill commies. Hollingsworth claimed that he could end another Korean War in nine days, four days of 'real violence' and five days to clean up. Gregg said he agreed with Hollingsworth's assessment of a nine day war, and stated that the *WSJ* article was an accurate description of Hollingsworth.

Gregg told an 'amusing' story about how the U.S. once caught the South Koreans with sophisticated weaponry which they were not supposed to have. Gregg reported his information to a U.S. Admiral who promptly confronted the Korean Admiral with the charge. Of course the Korean denied it and the U.S. Admiral believed him. The U.S. Admiral then proceeded to chew Gregg out about his 'sources'.

Gregg suggested that aerial surveys be made to see if the Koreans were building a berth for the weapon. Sure enough they were and the U.S. then confronted the Koreans with the evidence. Gregg evidently thought that placing sophisticated weapons in Korea's hands was real funny. We are lucky that they did not decide to use them.

The CIA evidently wants to keep Park and his boys from getting too far out of hand. They can have their fun as long as they do not get carried away. The CIA was involved in saving the life of an opposition leader in Korea who was on a fast boat headed out for the bay with rocks tied around his feet. In another incident the Korean CIA head was removed after he committed a brutal murder of a professor.

Regarding Cuba, and the attempts to kill Castro by CIA-backed Mafia hit men, Gregg said that he once asked why Richard Helms failed to tell the Warren Commission about the CIA plots against Castro. Gregg was told that Helms kept quiet because Bobby Kennedy knew about the attempts but said nothing, so Helms did likewise.

Gregg characterized Kissinger as a man who likes intelligence information. Since the end of the Vietnam War, Kissinger has been one of the CIA's most 'avid customers'. Kissinger disliked the CIA during the Vietnam War because they kept telling Kissinger that the South Vietnamese were going to lose. The CIA was a major source of information during the Angolan conflict. Gregg stated that the CIA was only involved in a reporting role until after Cuba became involved. However, in order to get into Angola to provide reports, as Gregg put it, training some military troops was a quid pro quo for being allowed near the action.

Gregg claimed ignorance of the rumors that Saipan was a major nuclear weapons base. He said that the Mariannas were not overflowing with CIA men, and that the CIA was not involved in squelching dissent on the islands.

From 1953 to 1963, Gregg was involved in covert activities in Japan. Japan was a case where, as Gregg put it, the CIA 'did their job right'. Apparently meaning that the radical left opposition, such as the Communist Party of Japan, was kept from acquiring popular support. The CIA, employing one of their favorite techniques, provided support for moderate left opposition parties such as the Socialists and the Social Democrats. While engaged in these covert activities, Gregg was employed as a civilian working for the Department of Army and an employee of the American Embassy. Later, Gregg worked directly with the Japanese police.

Between the years 1970 to 1972, Gregg served in Vietnam, where he began his CIA career in 1952. He was the head of Bien Hoa section, but made no mention of

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Operation Phoenix.

Regarding CIA involvement in the overthrow of Allende's regime in Chile, Gregg said that the election of a Marxist in South America posed a threat to the U.S. government's design for South America. It was essential that Allende be overthrown as a lesson to other Third World countries that the U.S. will not tolerate any Communist governments which it feels threaten U.S. interests.

On international terrorism Gregg felt that Libya was the 'patron saint' of the terrorists. According to Gregg, Libya appears to be the country which is providing a substantial part of the financial and moral support for the terrorists throughout the world.

After the general meeting with Don Gregg a number of professors gathered in the plush surroundings of the University of Texas faculty club for a cocktail party. Don Gregg and Bill Wood served as both the guests of honor and the hosts. After drinks someone asks, "Whats your sign, Don?"

"Sagittarius," he said.

"I knew it, a fire sign, a sign of adventure."

Don adds, "I don't regret my twenty-five years in the C.I.A. After all, what did the rest of my classmates do in that time, just divorces and dull jobs. I joined up because it was the thing to do at that time."

In the midst of the polite chit-chat the C.I.A. gets down to "brass tacks". Dr. Jannuzi, director of the Center for Asian Studies, is collared and given the hard sell, to allow the C.I.A. to train their people at the Center. Jannuzi equivocates a bit, "We can't give them any special treatment. Wouldn't a place nearer Virginia be more convenient?" Nervous at the obvious jeopardy in which such an arrangement would put the reputation of the Center, he apparently resists their blandishments.

Dr. Sidney Weintaub, who had invited Don Gregg to speak at the L.B.J. School of Public Affairs, catches people to remind everyone of the excellent opportunity to meet and interact with policy makers. Dr. Weintraub had been approached twice by Bill Wood with the offer of a speaker from the C.I.A. including one time shortly after Weintraub's arrival (Fall 1976).

Bill Wood, the personnel director of the local C.I.A. office is everywhere with a cherry hello and a, "I don't believe we've met." No one escapes being asked: "Do you think this sort of thing is worth while?" The universal answer is affirmative, although some for different reasons than others.

The process, begun earlier, in the afternoon, discussion session of stressing the idea that the C.I.A. is basically an "alright" group of people devoted to peace and democracy, continues unabated. There might have been occasional cases of overzealousness but now the "company" has matured.

The less public process of establishing liaison with the academic community engaged in foreign area studies also continues unabated. The foreign area studies centers represent valuable sources of training and expertise to the C.I.A. and the centers are highly dependent upon an always uncertain grant funding. Grant support is a powerful inducement even when balanced against the pall of suspicion that would accrue in due time to all of the center's associates and students. That this might be morally wrong, that area specialists should not be agents of a particular government, and that they may be accordingly shut out of their countries of interest, is not brought up.

Bill Wood, always his effervescent self, attempts to recruit where possible, "When you get to the job hunting stage give me a call down at the Federal Building." In general, the urbane, sophisticated approach seems to have an almost narcotic effect on the fascinated faculty.

In conclusion, Gregg maintained that the CIA, throughout its history, was only doing what it was told to do. This includes both the 'legal and illegal' acts which the CIA committed in the name of democracy. After all, Gregg noted, the CIA is really in the 'people business'. We know that, and that's what bothers us, because we do not know *which* people.

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to carry out similar, if less ideologically complete, political actions.

Early in June 1972, acting on a series of tips, police trapped most key members of the Red Army Fraction; Baader, Raspe, and another leader Holger Meins, were captured in a dawn raid on their Frankfurt hiding place and Ensslin was apprehended while shopping in a Hamburg store.

On June 15, Fritz Roderwald, in whose house Meinhof had been hiding, called the police inspector in charge of the Hanover *Baader Meinhof Kommando* (a force resembling American SWAT teams in most German cities) and turned her in. Roderwald, a 33-year-old teacher, came to regret his decision and turned over the reward money he received to the Ulrike Meinhof Defense Fund. According to her lawyers, Meinhof and her companions before coming to trial suffered prison conditions described as "inadequate" to "purposefully cruel."

One woman died from cancer because prison doctors refused to diagnose her symptoms. Holger Meins died from inadequate medical attention during forced feeding after a long hunger strike by RAF prisoners. Meinhof and others were subjected to "sensory deprivation" —a new form of torture, in specialized cells, preventing all human contact. Many people have recurring hallucinations from such treatment. Meinhof herself was in a sensory deprivation cell for one six-month period and then again for two weeks last Christmas, but by all accounts had a tough mind.

But the RAF organized inside the dozen jails the government sent them to. Meinhof continued to influence the European left and it is for this reason many Germans suspect she may have been assassinated. We should recall Chancellor Schmidt's words after Meinhof's arrest when he called Meinhof and the Red Army Fraction "the most serious challenge in the 26-year history of our democracy."

CounterSpy editor Winslow Peck, contributing editor Philip Agee, and two former Military Intelligence officers, K. Barton Osborn and Gary Thomas, were the first witnesses called by the defense in Meinhof's trial last summer. They tried to testify on the use of German soil for the conduct of the war in Indochina. The defense hoped it might mitigate the sentences of Meinhof and her companions who were moved to protest U.S. aggression in Vietnam. But the court's president prevented the testimony and said it would only assist the "terrorists." He further ruled that there could be no defense whatsoever in a case such as this. Meinhof died a few weeks before her appearance at the Stammheim court.

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CIA AROUND THE WORLD

CIA and Local Gunmen Plan Jamaican Coup

Captured Rightwing Documents Link Outside Forces with Local Thugs in Plot to Overthrow Socialist Manley Government

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By Ellen Ray

CounterSpy Editor Ellen Ray and Contributing Editor Philip Agee visited Jamaica for two weeks in September as guests of the Jamaican Council for Human Rights. They were there to investigate charges of destabilization by the CIA, and to participate in a public education campaign.

Peter Wittingham, Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) candidate for parliament, was attending his party's convention at the Montego Bay Holiday Inn on June 19, when Jamaica Security Forces arrested him. In his briefcase the police found a number of documents—later established to be in Wittingham's handwriting—which revealed the existence of a plot to overthrow the constitutionally elected government of Prime Minister Michael Manley. The code name of the conspiracy was OPERATION WEREWOLF.

It was the first hard evidence linking the conservative JLP to a wave of terrorism and violence which had plagued the Caribbean island for six months and which Manley and his Peoples National Party (PNP) believed to be the work of the JLP, acting in concert with the CIA to "destabilize" the democratic-socialist government of Jamaica.

"Werewolf is now willing to take up arms against the communist regime and purge them from our shores," one document in Wittingham's briefcase read. "Michael Manley and his Government are dedicated Communists and we intend to destroy them at all costs," stated another. But Wittingham, a former officer in the Jamaica Defense Forces, was more than a rhetorician of anti-communism; his documents also discussed operations and logistics. One, under the heading "St. Ann Area" (a north coast parish) listed: "22 trained men, 100 submachine guns, 2 barrels of gunpowder, 50,000 anti-government pamphlets."

The "Werewolf" documents, along with tapes of secret transmissions of the Security Forces found in the possession of the deputy leader of the JLP, Senator Pearnel Charles, led the government to the conclusion that it had narrowly averted a coup by a paramilitary organization equipped with sophisticated weapons and capable of overthrowing the government by force. A week before Wittingham's arrest, a bomb factory was discovered by police in Montego Bay; 257 sticks of dynamite were siezed, enough to blow up at least forty bridges or to knock out the island's power and water systems. The discovery of the bomb factory led Manley to declare a State of Emergency, which in turn led to the arrests of Wittingham and Charl[illegible]

Prime Minister Fidel Castro awards the National Order of Jose Marti to Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica.

Michael Manley has not always been under the gun. A charming, sophisticated graduate of the London School of Economics and son of the legendary Norman Manley—the man who led Jamaica to independence from the British in 1962—he did not seem cut out for the role of a revolutionary, third-world leader. Though he had been active in Jamaica's trade union movement, he was neither a Marxist nor a communist. Rather, he was someone about whom a Henry Kissinger might have said, "He's our kind."

That was before Manley announced a policy of democratic socialism in 1974. Manley came to power in 1972, ousting the long-entrenched JLP, and promising "Better Must Come." But his closest advisors were from the liberal bourgeoisie, including several who were members of Jamaica's oligarchy—"the twenty-one families." During the first two years of his administration, Manley followed a relatively conservative economic course. Many of his supporters, both the left wing of the PNP and leftists outside the party, were not satisfied; they waged what some have called "the battle for Michael's mind." Manley, being a humanist and a socialist, began to move toward the left and show a greater concern for the welfare of the island's two million inhabitants —over ninety percent of whom are descendants of slaves, and who still lived in the brutal poverty of a semi-plantation economy. The inevitable consequences of this change was a "destabilization" of the oligarchy.

At the 1974 PNP congress, Manley announced that his government would pursue a policy of democratic socialism, modeled after the policies of Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere who had been a guest at the congress. Several months earlier, Manley had met Fidel Castro for the first time when he flew with the Cuban Premier to the 1973 Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Algiers. Manley later described the meeting as "one of the great experiences of my life." Cuba and Jamaica subsequently pledged mutual economic, political, social, and cultural cooperation.

While the democratic socialist policies of the government called for "mixed" socialism, with a role for the private sector, it was difficult both to correct the huge inequities of the vast numbers of people and to tread only lightly on the toes of those whose status and position would be threatened by a firm economic overhaul of the system. Among the new policies adopted by Manley was a plan to raise taxes for the transnational aluminum companies operating in Jamaica. Jamaica, rich in bauxite which is used to make aluminum, joined with other bauxite-producing nations—Australia, Guyana, Guinea, Surinam, Sierra Leone, and Yugoslavia—to form the International Bauxite Association along the lines of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The formation of the bauxite association and the increase in taxes was of great concern to the U.S., which imports almost half of its bauxite from Jamaica, and to such corporations as Kaiser, Alcoa, and Reynolds, which have extensive investments in Jamaica.

In July, 1975, Manley and two hundred members of the PNP paid an official visit to Cuba. In a speech stressing Jamaica's commitment to its northern island neighbor, Manley said, "Every step you take, you do not take alone, because the feet of the Jamaican people are marching beside you." On his return to Jamaica, Manley went straight to Bethel Town, traditionally a JLP stronghold, where local elections were being held. He told an enthusiastic crowd that if anyone thought they could come to Jamaica to become a millionaire, he had this advice for them: "There are five flights a day to Miami." The next day, the PNP won an overwhelming victory in the election. (A reggae song titled "Five Flights a Day" soon became a big hit.)

The JLP was angered by the election results. Politics in Jamaica has always been spiced with strong-arm tactics, guns, and gangs. So it was not surprising when gunmen, known to be in the pay of the JLP, began terrorizing Manley supporters. But by late 1975, it was clear that the violence was more widespread and more sinister than the usual partisan vendattas that accompanied local elections.

The trouble was not caused just by thugs; there were indications of economic sabotage as well. Many companies cut back production and several bauxite plants announced they were planning to close down. At the same time, there were

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Media Operation Against Jamaica

CounterSpy has just received information from Jamaica that shootings and burnings, instigated by the Jamaica Labor Party in PNP areas, particularly areas which are markedly socialist, have begun again as the general elections draw near. Disinformation on an international scale has increased proportionally in the media, as have new fears of a CIA sponsored right-wing coup on this Caribbean island.

In the rural constituency of socialist Senator Hugh Small, parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of National Security, an incident occurred on November 1 which has been so grossly misreported in the international press, as to confirm charges that there is an ongoing CIA media campaign against the government of Jamaica. That the so-called responsible press would buy such a ludicrous story involving a government security minister, without checking with the Jamaican government, is indicative of a policy that has not changed since U.S. media complicity in the destabilization of the Allende government.

According to a *Reuters* dispatch, printed in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, opposition leader Edward Seaga and former JLP Prime Minister Hugh Shearer were attacked and "narrowly" escaped death when gunmen from Small's campaign headquarters fired on their motorcade, injuring 10 people, as it passed the PNP office in York Town, Clarendon, about 45 miles from Kingston. The story went on to report that Seaga was in a state of shock and required sedation afterwards. It stated that the attack was likely to start up the violent war again, despite the State of Emergency and that if the civil war began, no one could predict Cuba's reaction to a threat against "one of its few friends in the Caribbean," nor could one predict the American reaction to Cuban involvement.

The facts of the incident, according to *CounterSpy*'s government source and confirmed by sources outside the government, are:

About 400 JLP supporters on foot and riding in 25 cars were going to rally, called by Seaga, at a location just beyond the PNP headquarters. A car driving in front of the crowd, pulled up before the PNP headquarters and a group of men brandishing guns jumped out. The agressors were led by JLP candidate Mike Henry (president of Kingston Publishers, a subsidiary of McGraw Hill). Gunmen began ripping socialist campaign posters from the walls, and when several PNP supporters tried to stop them, the intruders shot Small's campaign manager, Rowan Skyers, in the face and set fire to the building. The 20 PNP members took cover in the adjoining cane fields, defending themselves with shotguns, but were flushed out when Henry and his men set fire to the field. The PNP building was burned to the ground, and the gun battle which took place injured 10 persons.

By the time the last cars carrying Seaga and Shearer arrived at the building, the shooting was over. Seaga then called a mass meeting, blaming Small for the violence and demanding that he resign, even though the Senator was in Kingston during the incident.

Winsome Lang, the *Daily Gleaner* reporter who filed the story from Jamaica with the *Caribbean News Agency (CANA)* and with *Reuters*, for whom she is a stringer, now claims the facts of her story were changed at the cable office in Barbados. Our sources doubt this, and point out that Lang, an English woman, was the sole author of both the *CANA* version which was sent directly to New York and the *Reuters* story which was laundered through London. What is curious is that neither American paper bothered to confirm the facts with the Jamaican government, nor did they later print the official government statement alleging total "inaccuracy." On the same day Lang's story appeared in the American press, syndicated columnist William Buckley speculated on editorial pages across the country that "if Castro, financed by the Soviet Union, should begin to extend his empire, for instance into Jamaica, and then hopscotch his way east along the Caribbean . . . would Venezuela sanction–sanctions?" And on the same day in the *London Daily Telegraph* was an unscrupulous piece entitled "Jamaica Castro Up to His Old Tricks."

And, after suffering through a rice shortage in Jamaica for months, consumers looked forward to a shipment of rice from Costa Rica on board the ship, *The City of Bochum*, October 19. When the cargo of over 160 tons arrived, however, inspectors discovered it was contaminated by the same poison, parathion, which was blamed for the flour-poisoning deaths several months before. The entire shipment of rice had to be destroyed when it was confirmed that unknown persons had loaded a cargo of the insecticide, destined for another port, in the hold with the rice. Inspectors observed there was leakage from the pails in which the poison was stored.

Though the government has not announced the date of the elections, it is expected they will be held in late December or early January. The violence and dirty tricks, however, lead some Jamaicans to fear the worst. According to polls, a majority of the people of Jamaica support Michael Manley for re-election and do not hold him responsible–as his opponents had planned–for the violence and disruption of their society. But the JLP, with CIA help, have demonstrated a sophistication in manipulating events; and *if* they allow the elections to take place, there is no guarantee they won't try to manipulate the outcome–one way or another.

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increasing numbers of strikes by transport, telephone, and electrical workers provoked by graduates of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)—known to have connections with the CIA. The JLP and the *Daily Gleaner*, Jamaica's conservative newspaper, blamed each strike, each cutback, on Manley's socialist policies. Meanwhile, as rumors of Jamaica's instability were circulated internationally, Manley found himself caught in the middle of a credit squeeze. The U.S. turned down a request for a $2.5 million A.I.D. food grant and refused to loan additional money bilaterally to Manley's government. Wealthy Jamaicans began smuggling cash out of the country, even though it was illegal to do so. The president of an ITT-owned supermarket, Winston Wong, was convicted of having taken over $200,000 out of the country to Canada; it is estimated that 100 times that amount was transferred out of Jamaica between January and June of this year. Jamaica's biggest industry, tourism, also began to suffer. Scores of hotels on the fashionable north coast were shut down, throwing thousands of workers out of jobs. The unemployment rate in Montego Bay rose to more than 50 percent.

Leftists, both within and outside the PNP, called for stronger controls over the capitalists who not only were taking out millions, but were refusing to reinvest in the economy. Conservatives and reformists in the party, on the other hand, urged Manley to cut back the progressive land lease, workers' cooperative, minimum wage, and adult literacy programs. But Manley refused to punish the poor. And when the attempt to defeat the left within the party failed, a concerted effort was made to sabotage the party itself.

Though charges of destabilization in Jamaica are difficult to prove — just as they were in Chile before the coup—a pattern is discernable behind the events which rocked the country for six months. The organization and planning that went into these acts of violence—political assassinations, arson against the poor and working-class communities of Trench Town, and the plot to overthrow the government through OPERATION WEREWOLF—suggest outside interference in Jamaican affairs.

The danger posed by Manley to U.S. interests was not so much in what he had accomplished through democratic socialism, but in his encouragement of the political awakening of the Jamaican people and in what he represented to oppressed peoples throughout the area. Socialism in the Caribbean could no longer be contained on one island.

Three WEREWOLF plotters: from left to right, Peter Whittingham (JLP caretaker), Pearnel Charles (Deputy Leader of JLP), and Ferdie Yap Sam.

In December, 1975, a number of unusual "coincidences" occurred. On Christmas Eve, a delegation from the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) came to Kingston to request technical assistance. Shortly thereafter, Manley reportedly received a phone call from Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda who asked, at Henry Kissinger's request, that Manley not recognize the MPLA. Several days later, Kissinger himself flew in, preceded by an advance party of 75 aides. He was accompanied by his wife, his son and his dog, and was ostensibly spending the holidays with Sir Harold Mitchell at Mitchell's north coast mansion. During Kissinger's "vacation" he attended a meeting with Manley and a number of other high-level Jamaican officials and U.S. Embassy personnel. Though no information about the meeting was publicly released, it was reported by several who attended that Kissinger had come specifically to put U.S.-Jamaican relations on the line. The Secretary of State was said to have promised U.S. A.I.D. and economic relief if the policies of socialism were abandoned and relations with the MPLA and Cuba broken off. In addition, he assured Manley that the U.S. was not carrying out any CIA operations in Jamaica. (In late 1971, Kissinger personally assured the Chilean Ambassador to the U.S., Orlando Letelier—who was assassinated in Washington this September—that the CIA was not involved in any internal Chilean "destabilization" plans.)

Not long after his meeting with Kissinger, Manley gave a speech praising Fidel Castro for having "saved Jamaica's black brothers and sisters in Angola from conquest by racist, apartheid South African imperialism."

One final, ominous event took place at the end of December, 1975. A new CIA station chief, Norman Descoteaux arrived in Kingston, replacing Thomas J. Keenan. He brought with him his wife, Judy, who was his secretary and fellow CIA worker. Descoteaux had served for five years in Guayaquil, Ecuador, and for two years in Buenos Aires. In Kingston, he joined a team of CIA officers working under cover at the U.S. Embassy. This team included:

—**Joel H. Beyer**, deputy chief of station; and

—**Daniel J. Calloway**, operations officer, both of whom had arrived the previous June;

—**Brian Bennett** and **Kenneth Stan-**

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ton, Telecommunications officers;

—**James W. Holt** (under cover as U.S. Embassy security officer);

—**Les Thompson** (under cover as a *Drug Enforcement Agency* officer), both operations officers;

—**Robert Houdek**, chief political officer, who was a former staff member of the *National Security Council* and deputy chief of mission for Sierra Leone until he was expelled in 1974 for interferring in that country's internal affairs.

—Adrienne McKenzie, CIA secretary, lived in Kingston and was married to a well-known JLP businessman, Ian McKenzie;

— **Jerzy Hauptmann**, operations officer, arrived in Kingston later.

In January, 1976, the International Monetary Fund conference took place in Kingston, and with it the escalation of violence to a level directly affecting the fabric and stability of Jamaican society, and the security of the government. Over the next six months, 2,900 crimes were reported, 1,662 involving the use of guns; there were 163 murders, including 19 policemen, and over 1,000 armed robberies. Fire bombings and burning of houses and whole areas of the shanty section, Trench Town, a PNP stronghold, became common occurrences. In desperation, people in those areas blocked access to their own streets with burning tires, old cars, tree stumps and furniture, giving West Kingston an eerie resemblance to Belfast or Derry under state of siege. Residents knew the violence was coming from outside paramilitary units, and set up all-night neighborhood patrols and "no go" areas. Tragically, it was often impossible to distinguish friends from enemies and, for a time, security forces were attacked as well as the intruders.

What follows is a partial record of some of the major acts of violence during this period:

—Protesting the racist South African delegates to the IMF conference, a Marxist group, the Workers' Liberation League, along with the more progressive forces of the PNP, the Women's and the Youth organizations, led a demonstration from the hotel where the IMF was meeting to the American Consulate. After the demonstration had dispersed, the U.S. Ambassador demanded police protection for the Consulate. Four hours later the two Jamaican policemen who were stationed there were murdered. Although the press and the JLP propaganda tried to pin the killings on the left, only the police and the American authorities knew the guards had been especially

stationed there that night. The same night, two other policemen were murdered at a public housing site, one of the government's socialist reform projects. The four deaths were timed to embarrass the Manley government during the conference and to inaugurate what was to become a six month campaign of planned terror.

—In May, 50 armed men blocked off exits to the Orange Lane tenement in Trench Town and hurled molotov cocktails into the area. Residents who tried to escape were pushed back by gunfire, as were the firefighters who tried to control the blaze. Small children, running from the inferno engulfing the row houses, were picked up by the gunmen, who threw them back into the flames. When the Security Forces arrived, the arsonists moved to a nearby cemetery and continued the shootout, retreating in a disciplined military formation. Ten people were killed in the fire, eight of them children, and 500 were left homeless. One of the invaders was shot and killed by police: a 13-year-old boy, armed with a sawed-off, double-barrelled Winchester shotgun.

—Twenty gunmen attacked a PNP youth club dance in a commando-style raid. They sealed off exits to the hall and opened fire with machine guns. Six people were killed and 50 wounded. When the police arrived, the gunmen retreated, only to fire on the ambulances as they sped to the hospital. A woman, already wounded, was killed.

—Three men attempted to firebomb a huge, indoor marketplace in Kingston where peasants from all over the island come to sell agricultural produce. The terrorists were spotted before they hurled their bombs down on the market from nearby rooftops, but they managed to escape.

—In May, 95 guns were seized on a deserted freighter, the *Atahualpa*, nea Montego Bay. But many more weapo —according to Jamaican intelligenc sources more than 8000 illegal guns— had been distributed on the island. The source of these arms remains a mystery.

—A cargo of flour, brought to Jamaica on a German ship, the *Heidelberg*, was discovered to have been contaminated with the deadly poison Parathion. Muc of the flour had already been sold, an 11 people died from the poisoning. La oratory tests indicated that the high l of Parathion in the flour was not result of a chemical accident. A simi incident occurred in Guyana in 1966— a time when the CIA was destabilizi the socialist government of Cheddi Jaga —leading many Jamaicans to suspec that the CIA might have poisoned the flour.

—A series of fires of unknown origin destroyed many acres of sugar cane. Most of these fires occurred on estates where workers had formed cooperative to run the plantations.

—**James Holt**, one of the CIA oper tions officers, aroused suspicion by h involvement with a well-known Jamaican gunman and a Canadian aluminum executive. According to the gunman, who was subsequently arrested by Jamaican Security Forces, Holt and the Canadian contrived a plot to turn the military against the PNP. A tape of a PNP youth rally was spliced with a falsified message, purporting to be from Fidel Castro, urging young people to rise up in armed struggle against the police and the army. The tape was supposed to fall into the hands of the military and cause dissention. (Holt left Jamaica suddenly in September when former CIA officer

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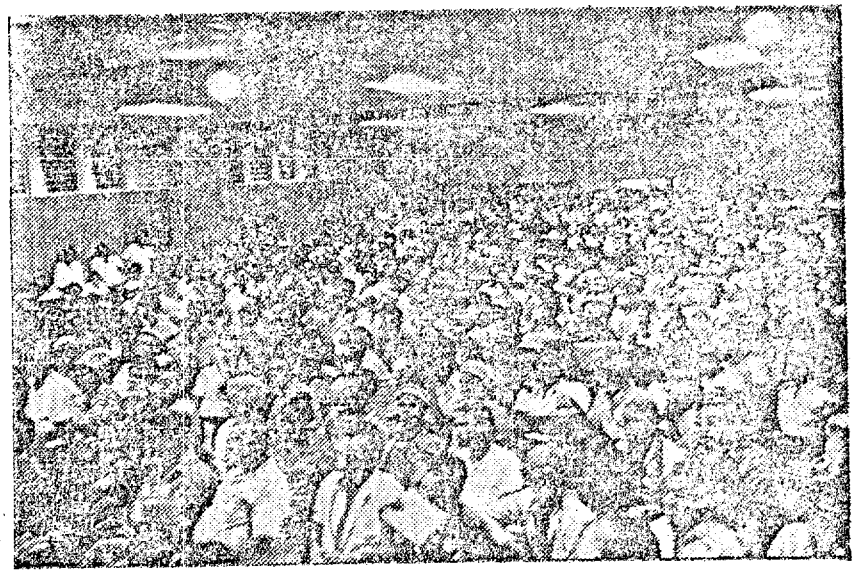

An estimated 3,000 Jamaicans listen to Philip Agee speak in Kingston about CIA and destabilization plans against their government.

Philip Agee arrived for a visit. So did political officer **Robert Houdek.**)

In addition to acts of violence, there was a coordinated propaganda effort to undermine Manley's government. Many aspects of this campaign were similar to those used in Chile to attack Allende and shake the people's confidence in socialism. Jamaica's press was solidly controlled by the opposition and was instrumental in stimulating anti-communist feelings. Unsigned articles and commentaries blamed Manley for the violence and called for his resignation; one pirate radio broadcast demanded that he be overthrown.

A group of middle-class women, led by an organization called the National Council of Women, began meeting and agitating against the Manley government. The women attempted to organize a one-day strike accompanied by a march with empty pots and pans. (Similar pots and pans demonstrations, coordinated by the CIA, were held in Chile before the 1973 coup.) But many militant women from the PNP attended the organizing meeting and presented a counter-proposal calling for more constructive ways of helping the country at a time of crisis; the National Council of Women's proposal was defeated and they were never heard from again. A few months earlier, a group calling itself the "Silent Majority" tried to organize a demonstration of car owners to drive with their headlights on in a protest against Manley's policies. Although the group took out a half-page advertisement in the *Daily Gleaner*, the demonstration was a failure.

Anti-Castro articles appeared regularly in the press after Manley's visit to Cuba. Editorials from U.S. papers condemning Cuban communism were often reprinted. One article, signed "Contributed," traced Cuba's history before the revolution and concluded that Castro had "deceived and betrayed the people in their belief that he represented a hope for democracy and freedom from tyranny." The article then asked: "When Castro took power by force in 1959, had the course of the Cuban evolution on Marxist-Leninist principles already been decided, or did he genuinely believe in a democratic system? . . . The answer to this question contains a warning for those Latin American and Caribbean nations now embracing 'democratic' and other forms of socialism." The next day, the *Gleaner* ran an unsigned letter, presumably from the same authors, criticizing Manley for not doing away with the radical members of his party, and comparing him to an early Fidel Castro and those who would turn him leftward to Che Guevara.

Perhaps the most blatant propaganda came from a group called "Christian Women Agitators for Truth" attacking those who criticized the U.S. or the CIA. They dragged out the example of Dr. Tom Dooley, who set up a hospital in Indochina, ostensibly for humanitarian reasons. (Dooley, it was later documented, turned out to be a CIA operative, and his hospital a CIA safehouse.) Some churches and ecumenical groups in Jamaica also took part in the attempt to discredit Manley. In recent months, evangelist tents have sprouted up all over the island, bringing articulate, anti-communist and anti-government evangelists and faith healers from the U.S. to the Jamaican people.

When Herb Rose, a JLP organizer and executive committee member, defected from the party in early June, he charged that the JLP election strategy was based on violence, arson, and murder. Rose said that he had personally witnessed some top JLP leaders giving guns and ammunition to half-starved youngsters and training them to commit murders and to destroy property. The violence, he explained, was planned to gain momentum and ferocity between the independence celebration, Carifest, in August, and the next elections, scheduled to be held sometime before February.

On June 19, 1976, Manley responded to the growing crisis by declaring a State of Public Emergency. He invoked the section of the Jamaican constitution referring to "action threatened on such a scale as to endanger public safety."

Under the State of Emergency—known in Kingston argot as "heavy manners"—the government was given the power, for a limited time, to suspend some of the constitutional rights of Jamaicans, and to allow the Security Forces the power to detain those whom they believed to be the planners of violence and terrorism. Among the first acts under the emergency were the arrests of Wittingham and Charles.

Eddie Seaga, leader of the JLP, had been predicting that the government would soon declare a State of Emergency to put pressure on the opposition, eventually destroying Jamaica's right to free elections. But when the government finally announced the emergency, it took Seaga 48 hours to respond. The timing of the announcement had obviously taken

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CIA AROUND THE WORLD

Confidential U.N. Memo Unmasks US Covert Action Against Namibia

CIA Supports Figurehead and Builds Secret Black Army while US attacks U.N. Commissioner

The following document, obtained through sources at the United Nations, provides rare insight into developing covert operations–apparently mounted by the CIA and the South African secret police BOSS (see Spring 1976 issue of CounterSpy*)–against Namibia's struggle for independence from South Africa. Too often we are only able to piece together such activities long after the fact. The confidential document we are publishing here for the first time will, hopefully, alert our readers and the general public to what those activists of Kissinger's foreign policy, the CIA, are doing in this volatile territory before the U.S. becomes inextricably involved in yet another international conflict.*

Already signs of an all-out war are shaping up, as South African troops conduct military operations and police actions daily. The entire northern part of Namibia has been placed under martial law, and the border with Angola has been declared a "free fire zone." Meanwhile, U.S. involvement in Namibia increases. A former U.N. advisor in Africa reported to the Dublin Sunday Press *on September 19 that, "A new Black Namibian armed force, trained by United States military personnel, equipped by the U.S. and financed by the U.S. for at least a decade," is being planned. He continued that, "what limit would be on the number of United States military advisors is not known. It is intended that a large proportion of the American soldiers and other personnel working in Namibia should be black."*

Since the mid-1960's, a liberation movement, spe

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headed by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), has been fighting for Namibia's independence. SWAPO is the strongest political force in the country, and has been recognized by the U.N. as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people. The prospect of American Blacks training Namibian Blacks to fight SWAPO is chilling.

Namibia, also known by its colonial name, South West Africa, is a territory the size of France and England combined, located on the west coast of Africa, and bordering on South Africa, Angola, Zambia, and Botswana. Formerly a German Protectorate, this mineral-rich land became a "sacred trust of civilization" following World War I. It was administered by South Africa under a mandate of the League, and later the U.N. In 1966, the U.N. declared an end to the mandate and called for steps toward independence. But South Africa continues to rule Namibia in spite of the withdrawal of the U.N. mandate, and despite a 1971 decision by the International Court of Justice that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia was illegal.

In 1974, South Africa, responding to international pressure, called for a constitutional conference in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, to consider the question of independence. SWAPO was barred from the proceedings. The Turnhalle Conference, as it was called, was convened in September, 1975, and was attended by a number of moderate, black, tribal leaders and the White National Party of South West Africa. Among the delegates to the Turnhalle Conference was CLEMENS KAPUUO, Chief of the Herero tribe, who is now being promoted as the first president of Namibia.

As the following document, and independent research by CounterSpy *show, Kapuuo is being promoted by a New York law firm, Schwartz, Burns, Lesser and Jacoby; the KUDU foundation, headed by John Summers of Psychographic Communications (Psycomm); and a man called James Endycott, who is really Gyorg Nemeth, a refugee from Hungary who has probable CIA connections, and is reported to have worked with Radio Free Europe. Endycott was said to have died suddenly of "natural causes" recently in London, but sources point out that he was quickly cremated, and that his death might have been faked. His wife has taken over his business assets which include Gemstone mining, now reported to be in liquidation, and Kakaoveld Minen Geselschaft. Whether Endycott's wife continues to support the Kapuuo campaign through these mysterious companies remains to be seen. What is clear is that South Africa, the multinational corporations in Namibia, and the United States can live with Kauuo far more easily than with a SWAPO government.*

The Turnhalle Conference has drafted a proposed constitution, and has called for the "independence" of Namibia by December 31, 1978. No solution short of genuine independence would be acceptable to the liberation movement. But South Africa has yet to approve even these far-future independence plans, and clearly will only do so on terms it finds acceptable–as it did recently in granting "independence" to the Transkei, a country that not one nation in the world recognizes because it is so blatently a product of the racist policies of apartheid.

The allegations of Kissinger's secret policy for Namibia, including CIA covert actions, need more research. But the data from this document should be enough for religious and lay groups supporting Namibian independence to demand a full investigation by Congress.

US-backed puppet of Namibia, Chief Clemens Kapuuo

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United Nations

CONFIDENTIAL

To: PRIAM

From: ODYSSEUS

Subject: Apparent Covert Operations against Namibia

Date: 31 October 1976

1. There now appears to be little chance of the United Nations forcing South Africa to the conference table to the Namibian question at any time in the forseeable future. Prime Minister Vorster has stated in a widely published interview that he will not negotiate with SWAPO. Dr. Kissinger has been unable, or unwilling, to extract any significant concessions from South Africa. And the major western powers, by vetoing the Security Counsel arms embargo resolution, have for the time being blocked further United Nations action.

2. Thus South Africa is now consolidating its position in Namibia. The major western powers support its efforts to maintain control of the Territory, for they believe that Namibia has assumed great importance in the southern African strategic balance. The occupation of Namibia enables South Africa to extend its defence perimeter far to the north. In the present context, this is seen by defence ministries as a valuable advantage. They believe that South Africa would be weakened militarily and politically if it agreed to the transfer of power to SWAPO at this time.

3. South Africa, of course, cannot impose itself upon Namibia at this juncture. It must bow to the great pressure for majority rule. This was foreshadowed in Dr. Kissinger's Lusaka speech at the end of April. The U.S. line has changed superficially: there must be majority rule in Namibia and Zimbabwe. The implicit premise, however, is that South Africa and the western powers must ensure that those who assume power are "moderates" who can be trusted not to force radical changes or political re-alignments.

4. South Africa and its supporters have developed a joint strategy for reconciling these conflicting objectives. South Africa plans to "grant" Namibia its "independence" in the near future. Its intention, however, is to by-pass SWAPO and ensure that power goes to those whom it can control. The Turnhalle conference has already set a provisional date for "independence" and prepared a basic constitutional "foundation" upon which an interim government could be based. The SAG is now moving rapidly towards the appointment of such a government, reportedly under Kapuuo and Mudge. The SAG will control all the political machinery and keep its occupation forces in place. The economy will remain in the hands of the white community. By blocking United Nations action, the western powers have ensured South Africa a breathing space during which the necessary arrangements can be completed. That, at least, is the intention.

5. The major western powers are now mobilising to support South African policy. They are preparing a vast expansion of private investment, public aid to a future "independent" government and much else. There are continuing reports of efforts to assist in the creation of a black Namibian army. These are being followed up. The basic western aim appears to be to provide a South African client regime with the means to survive and to ensure its credibility.

6. South Africa's situation, however, is far from easy. As has been noted, the war now extends across much of northern Namibia. PLAN attacks are frequent. Political support for SWAPO is growing everywhere, partly as a reaction to the harshness and brutality of South African methods of "pacification." South Africa has now had to send additional forces to Namibia. At the end of the summer some 46,000 men of the security forces were tied down in northern and central Namibia. The number of additional men just dispatched is not known. Thus South African forces have been and are stretch to the limit. And they now face an expanded SWA offensive.

7. It is not surprising that as this situation has de oped the major western powers have resorted to co operations on an extensive scale. These complem the usual diplomatic, political, financial and mili support for South African policy towards Namib Covert operations appear now to have been mounted

against the leadership of SWAPO

against Angolan support for SWAPO

against SWAPO in Zambia

against the U.N. Commissioner for Namibia

against the internal wing of SWAPO in Namibia

in support of a Kapuuo-Mudge interim governmen

BOSS is clearly involved in these operations. It wo also appear that the Central Intelligence Agency is volved in some of them. This memorandum will rev some of the evidence on the last three operations. Nor of these operations, of course, can be said to have single, narrow target. Each has multiple effects. They are therefore mutually supporting. They are all aimed a clearing obstacles to the implementation of the broad strategy adopted for securing control of Namibia.

8. **Clearing the ground for aid to a South Afri client regime and placing counterinsurgency assests Namibia.** The USG is engaged in a number of studi and projects designed to help it develop policies ar programmes for backing South Africa in Namibia Some details have become available about two of thes projects, both of which are being organized from the Agency for International Development. Both projec focus on problems of transition in Namibia and Zim babwe. Both projects are being done in a great rush Both are designed to provide answers to a broad rang of questions posed by intelligence analysts and to hel prepare plans for private finance, public aid and othe kinds of support for an interim government i Namibia.

A) The AID contract study to the African-Americ Scholars Council. This is a $350,000 study on t problems of transition to majority rule in Namib and Zimbabwe. It has been contracted to the Africa

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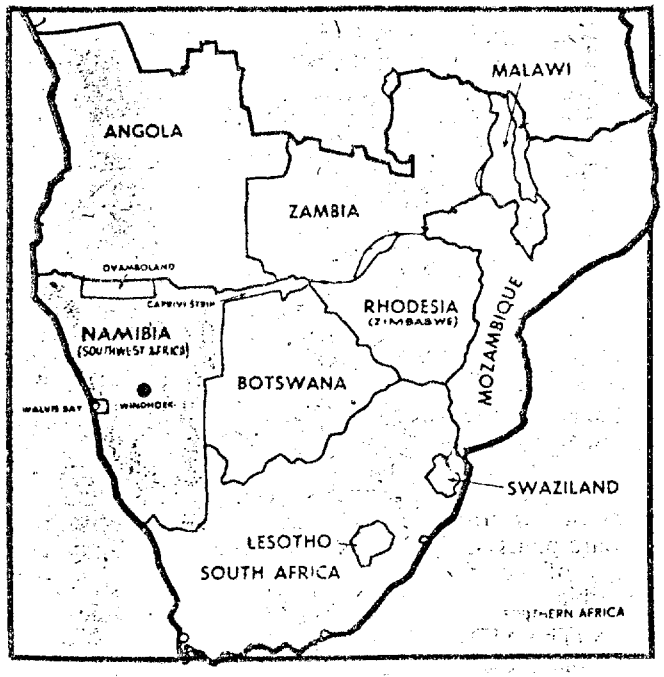
American Scholars Council in Washington. This is a scholarly body which has brought together a team of experts to address the problems posed by the AID, there being an evident lack of knowledgable African specialists in the USG. The study is being directed by Dr. Sam Adams, Jr., who was formerly in charge of the AID programme for the Sahel and who came under much criticism in that post. The team brought together includes a number of younger consultants with experience on the Hill—but few with any knowledge of Africa—or in academic life. Aside from Adams, the leaders of the team are prominent and conservative members of the white academic establishment. The "Principal Investigator," for instance, is Robert Rotberg of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a political scientist who is believed to have connections with the Central Intelligence Agency. Rotberg, who has recently returned from a tour of Africa, was refused permission by the University of Zambia not long ago to conduct a study of the liberation movements in southern Africa. The grounds of UNZA's refusal were that Rotberg's work might serve to undermine the southern African independence struggle. Eliot Berg a conservative economist from the University of Michigan is in charge of the economic part of the report. Stuart North of the University of Houston is to supervise the preparation of a report on human resources in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

The research proposal for the project calls for a broad political, economic and social assessment of the present situation in Namibia, focusing in particular on the "problems" arising during the period of transition to majority rule. This, however, is not intended to be an idle set of studies, but is meant to help produce answers on which the USG can act. The objective of the contractor, the African Bureau of the AID, is to identify the problems arising during the transition to majority rule and "suggest appropriate programmatic and policy responses."



The "Principal Investigator," who deals with political questions, is asked to investigate a number of questions which are important in determining the ease or difficulty of moving along a particular policy line. He is asked, for instance, to assess "the attitudes of government and liberation leadership in southern Africa" towards the problems arising from the transition to majority rule and to assess "**their openness to and attitudes towards U.S. policy and programmes related to transition.**" He is asked to assess "**the interests other nations might have in facilitating the transition to majority rule**" and "**any possible U.S. role associated therewith.**" He is asked as well to survey the assets which the U.S. may have available to assist it in implementing "its" policies towards Zimbabwe and Namibia. AID requested he assess "the willingness of political, social, university, nonprofit, foundation, corporate and other U.S. institutions or groups in the U.S. to **support or assist U.S. Government programmes and policies** related to the transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe and Namibia." (Emphasis added.)

Thus the principal researchers already seem to have been told, at least in rough terms, what U.S. policy is. For they are asked to investigate the reactions of others to hypothetical policies. Despite this obvious peculiarity, some of the consultant have been unable to obtain any clarification from Dr. Adams of the **purposes** of the project. "What is this for?," they have asked. No answer, however, has been given. The scope, personnel and contradictions of the project thus suggest that the African-American Scholars Council is basically being used to do intelligence work. The project proposal reads like many of the proposals set in motion by AID for counterinsurgency purposes in other countries. And it seems quite likely that the findings of the Council will be used to draw up plans for installing a "moderate" government in Namibia.

B)The AID Southern African Regional Development Plan. A second and far more important project is being undertaken by AID. This is a regional development planning study for the whole of southern Africa. There are twenty professional researchers working full time on this project. Five of these are specialists in economic planning. Ten are country specialists (although they have apparently little expertise). Five specialize in the study of particular sectors such as transportation or agriculture. The support team must be quite large in its entirety. It has been estimated that some $1 million is being spent on this project, which has been contracted by AID to Checchi and Co., a major Washington contract consulting firm which did considerable work in South Vietnam from the early 1960s. The precise status of the project is not clear. Checchi and Co. are said to have "put

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together" the team of "experts," but the project is run on a day-to-day basis by senior AID personnel. Overall supervision is by Owen Cylke, Deputy Director of AID's Office of Central and West African Affairs. Day-to-day supervision of the project is in the hands of Terry Lambacher, a senior management analyst at AID.

AID appears to be attempting to draft a series of interlocking country plans for accelerated economic growth in southern Africa. Thus a separate study is planned for each of 8 or 10 countries, each study being bounded by the parameters of a country's relationships with its neighbors. There will probably be a broad "regional plan" as well. The basic assumption, however, on which these plans are based is that growth must be accelerated along the **present lines of specialization** of each economy. Thus, in the case of Namibia, the plan will provide for a rapid increase of mineral exploitation rather than the expansion and modernization of agriculture. From what is known at present about the AID's lines of research the **kind** of economic growth which is being projected will:

* leave the distribution of income roughly the same
* leave the structure of production the same
* maximize foreign capital inflows
* accentuate the present specialization of the economy
* increase the degree of economic dependence upon South Africa

Thus the plan for Namibia will set in motion forces which will help to consolidate South Africa's hold on the Territory, directly and indirectly. Within southern Africa as a whole it seems likely that the effect of this kind of acceleration will be to strengthen South Africa's economic power in relation to the countries of the poorer periphery. This is an obvious effect which an economist or administrator must understand. It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that this is the intended result.

AID is presently pressing the completion of a rough plan in order, they say, to go to the Congress in the beginning of the year for a series of aid programs for southern African countries. It has been learned that an aid bill for Namibia is being drawn up despite the fact that there is no legitimate independent government in Namibia at the present time. This suggests strongly that the plans being prepared are designed to assist in channeling and rationalizing U.S. support for a Kapuuo-Mudge interim regime in Namibia.

The whole project also has definite undertones of counterinsurgency war. For Cylke and Lambacher, who are in charge of the project, have histories which indicate that they are much more than economic planners or managers. Cylke took his B.A. at Yale and went into international banking. In the early or mid-1960s, however, he volunteered for the Peace Corps in Ethiopia. He then returned and joined the regular USG service with the AID. Sources believe that he joined the Central Intelligence Agency in the late 1960s, although he remained in the AID. He was a consultant to the African Development Bank in Abigjan, with the AID Capital Project Office in Nairobi and then returned to AID, Washington. He received a Merit Honor Award in 1972. Lambacher was in the U.S. Army overseas from 1963 to 1966. He joined the Saigon office of the AID in 1967 as an assistant development officer. Sources believe he joined the CIA at about that time, operating from an AID office. He was both assistant programme officer and programme officer with AID in Vietnam. He received an award for heroism in 1970. He was a senior U.S. civilian official in Hau Nghia province, just west of Saigon, until late 1970. He then became the AID advisor and liaison officer to the Minister of the Interior of the Government of South Vietnam.

These histories and associations suggest that there is much more going on in the AID regional development study of southern African than meets the eye. Sources suggest it is very probably in part a cover for the development of counterinsurgency assets which the U.S. could use in Namibia in the event of "need." The situation in Namibia today is obviously highly unstable. And the indications are that the U.S. may be preparing itself to assist South Africa through covert action against SWAPO's internal wing in Namibia which is the logical political organization to be "targeted."

9. **Covert operations to create a credible politi alternative to SWAPO.** There are some indications th BOSS, and possibly the CIA, are behind the campaign t make Chief Kapuuo a credible political leader of th Namibian people in the eyes of international publi opinion. Two U.S. firms are involved in this campaigr a New York law firm and a New York marketing cor sulting agency. The first, Schwartz, Burns, Lesser an Jacoby, has been advising Chief Kapuuo for well over year. One of the partners, S. Schwartz, accompani Chief Kapuuo to Windhoek and is believed to ha been the author of the "Constitutional Proposal" whi Kapuuo presented to the conference on 9 March of t year. The mystery about the law firm arises from t fact that they refuse to reveal who is paying them. Sc wartz and Burns are believed to be costing Kapuu $1,000 per day. He is obviously not paying them him self. He has not the means. The lawyers for all th other Turnhalle delegations, it has been learned, a paid by the South African Government. Schwartz an Burns, however, have denied that they are.

Schwartz and Burns appear to have a close relatior ship with Jack Summers of Psychographic Communica tion (PsyComm), a marketing consulting agency wit plush offices at Delmonico's. Summers has been har dling the PR for Kapuuo in the United States. He ha been doing a lot of work over the past year. Kapuuo i believed to have been here three or four times in th last 12 or 15 months. Psychographic Communication has done a very professional press kit for Kapuu which presents the Chief as the leader of mode

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Namibia. Summers gave a party for the Chief at Delmonico's in September to which selected press were invited. South African mission personnel provided the security, which was tight. The Chief was introduced to various celebrities, had his picture taken with Mohammed Ali and Elizabeth Taylor, and, all in all, was made "very visible." This has been going on for some time. On a recent trip Kapuuo met and talked with Cyrus Vance, Henry Ford, the editorial boards of Newsweek Time and The New York Times, as well as the publisher of the New York Post. So Kapuuo has been receiving good treatment and has made exceedingly important contacts. He is believed to have talked with State Department officials on a number of occasions.

Again, the mystery is money, as well as the remarkable coincidence of circumstances. Summers will not say who pays him. In fact, he says he does it all because he believes in Kapuuo. The publicity campaign, however, is estimated to have cost in excess of $500,000 over the last two years or so. There is obviously some wealthy individual or organization behind Kapuuo. Summers says he has started a foundation, the Kudu Foundation, to "build schools in Namibia after independence." Chief Kapuuo, however, has stated publicly that the purpose of the Foundation is to pay his expenses. It has not been possible to investigate Kudu. It should be registered as a non-profit foundation, but is not. It is not clear at this point whether the Kudu is the channel for the money which Summers is using. Money, however, is coming from somewhere, in large quantities.

Some clues exist. James Endicott has been Chief Kapuuo's representative in London for some time. He is believed to have been born in Hungary but now carries an Australian passport. He went to Namibia about 1970, where he worked as an architect. He started working for Gemstone Miners (Pty) Ltd., an American company registered in Hempstead, Long Island, with mining concessions in Namibia. Endicott is believed to have worked for Radio Free Europe, and is therefore suspected of intelligence connections. There have been a number of strange events surrounding Endicott and Gemstone Mining. Endicott left Namibia for London with a string of debts. He began to publish the Namibia Bulletin in London. According to the U.S. Small Business Administration Gemstone received, inexplicably, SBA guarantee for a $350,000 loan. The loan is now in default and Gemstone's operation in Namibia is now in liquidation. Gemstone may be the channel for funds received by Endicott which were believed at one time to total more than $1,000 a day. It has been reported in the last few days that Endicott died of a heart attack in London. Other reports say he died in Namibia. Sources in London at the weekend were not aware of the reports, although they were circulating in New York.

Sean MacBride, U.N. Commissioner and 1974 recipient of Nobel Peace Prize, under attack by the CIA station at the U.N.

It is clear that someone is orchestrating the attempt to publicize Kapuuo. And it is clear that they have a great deal of money and excellent connections. The Kapuuo campaign has had some success. Kapuuo is now on the map, although he still remains less than credible for many who meet him. However, there is every indication that some kind of campaign will continue. Summers is now suggesting that the Turnhalle has been "radicalized." He seems less interested in Kapuuo than he was. His line is very markedly anti-South African, anti-imperialist and anti-SWAPO. He has even suggested that SWAPO are working for South Africa, because by pressing the war they are "forcing South African to keep its troops in Namibia.

This seems to be a BOSS operation. To do what they have done on U.S. territory, however, they would have to have the assent of the CIA at the very least.

10.The apparent "black propaganda" campaign against Sean MacBride of the Office of the Commissioner for Namibia. There has been great pressure against the Commissioner since the end of the winter of this year. It seemed at first that this might be nothing more than the usual kind of diplomatic rowing which one expects in certain situations. It appears now, however, that there has been a planned and systematic attempt to undermine the Commissioner, to force him out of the United Nations and even to abolish the Office of the Commissioner altogether. This campaign is apparently aimed at removing one of the principal obstacles to international acceptance of a South African client regime in Namibia. If Sean MacBride remains in office, he will certainly use his influence and prestige to prevent the United Nations fron turning its back on the maneuvers to install an interim regime. He will oppose such maneuvers vigorously. His presence therefore presents a real problem for South Africa and for the major western powers. The evidence reviewed below must be seen within this context.

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Organized pressure directed against MacBride began in the early part of this year. Ambassador Dunston Kamana of Zambia made complaints to the Secretary-General of the United Nations about statements made by MacBride in Ireland and Africa. These complaints were withdrawn afterwards on the specific instructions of the Government of Zambia, which sent a message to the Secretary-General indicating that they had examined MacBride's statements closely and found nothing wrong with them.

Various other allegations were made against MacBride at a meeting of the Council for Namibia during MacBride's absence in Zambia. Reports of these complaints were leaked to the press. Even an internal United Nations budgetary document which was never intended for circulation was officially circulated and leaked to the press. At the same time a rumor was falsely put out in the U.N. corridors to the effect that MacBride had resigned. MacBride denied this publicly from Lusaka.

These events caused some comment at the time. Reporters and delegates saw the pressures and rumors as part of an attempt to undermine MacBride. One reporter asked at a noon briefing whether, in view of the growing pressure against MacBride, it might not be amiss to enquire whether he had been made the target of some CIA operation.

In recent months pressure for MacBride's resignation has been growing. The situation has become much more tense in southern Africa since the spring. The United States Ambassador has made representations to the Secretary-General about MacBride's statement on southern African affairs. These received considerable attention in the press and naturally raised questions about MacBride's future. At the same time, officials in the Department of State were putting about the story that they were determined to get MacBride and that they would. They accused MacBride of "complicating negotiations which the U.S. had in hand" to ensure a peaceful transition to majority rule in southern Africa. It seems fairly clear that they were in fact concerned to neutralize MacBride because he would make it difficult to implement the Kapuuo-Mudge gambit.

By summer, under constant pressure and facing constant and unnecessary difficulties at the U.N., MacBride decided to resign. He began to write his report to the General Assembly and, in it spoke frankly of the problems which he faced. The Secretariat of the Council for Namibia resisted circulation of this report. It became clear that the report would be suppressed.

As it became known that MacBride had decided not to continue as Commissioner for Namibia, new moves were initiated either to secure a pliable Commissioner to replace MacBride or to suppress the post completely and hand over the functions of the Commissioner to the Brazilian Secretary of the Council for Namibia. In pursuance of this scheme the Mexican Ambassador to the U.N., who is one of the Vice-Presidents of the Council for Namibia, and the Zambian Ambassador, who is the President of the Council, both made approaches to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in an effort to do away with the post Commissioner. These approaches were rejected SWAPO, who have throughout supported MacBrid The personalities involved, including the Secretary o the Council for Namibia, suggest a concerted effo which is much more than mere diplomatic maneuve ing.

There appears to have been a long, carefully plann campaign of pressure, rumor and manipulation to e sure MacBride's departure from the United Nation This has all the appearance of a classic "black propagar da" campaign. The use of distortion and official publ pressure in a systematic way is one of the most powe ful weapons in the arsenal of covert operations agains political figure. The Agee book documents a number cases strikingly like those of MacBride. There can be tle doubt that both BOSS and the USG have been volved in this campaign.

"It appears there has been a planned systematic attempt to undermine the Commissioner, to force him out of the United Nations and abolish the Office altogether."

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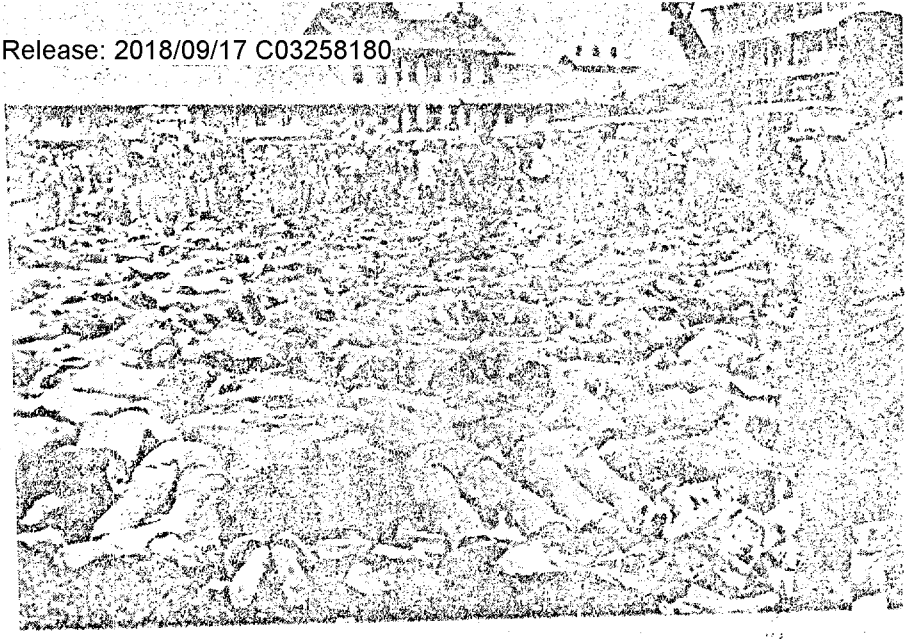
CIA AROUND THE WORLD

CIA Responsible for Growth of Fascism in Thailand



Trooper Guarding Students Arrested After Thammasat University Massacre.

Bloody Wednesday in Bangkok

By D. Gareth Porter

The events of October 6—"bloody Wednesday", as it was called by eyewitnesses in Bangkok—represented the last phase of an effort by the reactionary right in Thailand to halt the development of forces demanding political and economic change. The massacre and mass arrests of students and the seizure of power by the military junta has been followed by massive arrests of those suspected of harboring "pro-Communist" thoughts. The scope of that term, as used by the junta and its right-wing supporters, can be judged by the fact that one of the first arrests after the promulgation of "order no. 22" on October 13 was Pansak Vinyaratn, editor of the liberal left magazine *Chaturat*, who had called for friendly relations with Vietnam.

The U.S. may not have been an active conspirator in the coup itself, but it was not an innocent bystander. Attempts to find CIA agents who participated in the planning of the coup are not only futile but irrelevant, since the Thai reactionaries had the means to carry it out themselves. But the more fundamental question is whether the U.S. was responsible for the rise of the political forces which paved the way for the coup. Against the background of the U.S. penetration of Thai society for twenty-five years and its implicit, if not explicit, support for the terrorist groups of the far right which appeared in 1974 and 1975, U.S. responsibility for the violent repression of the left in Thailand is manifest.

Legitimized Violence to Stop Left Trend

Thailand has a history of military coups, which have suspended both parliament and constitution. But this coup was fundamentally different from those of the past. It incorporated a Thai version of fascism which is a response to the development of a broad left-wing movement in Thailand, linking both urban and rural strata within the constitutional system, rather than in total opposition to it.

Since the "revolution" of October 1973, when Generals Thanom and Prapas had been overthrown after large-scale student demonstrations against them, Thai student activists had linked up for the first time in Thai history with worker and peasant organizations to form a new left-wing political front. The students went to the countryside to help peasants demand a halt to violations of the rent control act and finally helped establish the Farmers' Federation of Thailand—the first such farmers' organization independent of the government and the landowners. Labor Unions in Bangkok, reflecting the growing size and militancy of the urban poor, launched the first serious labor unrest in Thai history.

The response of the wealthy and powerful was to create

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new extremist anti-Communist groups with which they could neutralize and ultimately destroy the left. At the center of the plan was a small group of senior Thai army officers who had been involved in intelligence and counter-insurgency activities. It included the head of Thai military intelligence, the Deputy Chief of the Internal Security Operations Command, the former Director of the National Police and the Commander of the Thai Border Patrol Police, the primary police agency involved in counter-insurgency operations.[1] These men were well-positioned by their responsibilities and the resources which they controlled, to organize and support the terrorist groups of the right, which were, for them, merely an extension of the techniques they had used for many years.

The genesis of the idea, according to the retired head of Thai military intelligence, Gen. Wallop Rojanswisut, was the realization by this group of officers in October 1974 that drastic measures had to be taken to halt the leftward trend in Thai society. They agreed that they had to have a "sort of national ideology," as Gen. Wallop puts it. He had learned when studying psychological warfare in the United States in 1953 that the stability of Thai society rested on the twin foundations of the Monarchy and Buddhism. So the new "national ideology" used the king and the Buddhist religion to legitimize violence against those who wanted change.[2] Anyone who disturbed the established order was simply called a Communist and accused of being opposed to the king and Buddism. It was thus essentially an operation in psychological warfare, aimed at deflecting attention from the issues of power and privilege in the society.

The first political group to be organized on the basis of this "ideology" was *Nawapon*, translated both as "new force" and as "soldiers of the ninth," in reference to King Bhumibol, the ninth king of the Chakri dynasty. It recruited teachers and intellectuals in Bangkok, civil servants, soldiers, policemen, businessmen and landowners in the provincial and district towns.

At *Nawapon* rallies, the crowds were whipped up with hysterical rhetoric about the imminent threat to king and country from Communists. All political unrest—by students, labor and peasants—was said to be the work of Vietnamese and Thai Communists working together. And people were warned that the Vietnamese community in Thailand was planning to slip into Bangkok and other cities to carry out sabotage and assassinate Thai leaders.[3]

If the purpose of *Nawapon* was to popularize the rationale for repression of the left, the purpose of the *Krathin Daeng* or "Red Gaurs," was to provide the "brown shirts" of the right-wing movement for violence against left-wing and liberal groups and individuals. Many of the Red Gaurs were recruited from among vocational students in Bangkok, most of whom had been allied with the university students in bringing down the old military dictatorship in 1973, but who tended to resent their better-educated, generally wealthier brothers in the universities. In order to drive a wedge between the two groups, psychological warfare specialists spread the word that the students at Thammasa University planned to kill the King during a ceremony a the University in October 1974. The "Red Gaurs" wer brought in to stand guard around the king at the ceremony and when nothing happened, it was treated as a big victor over the "communist" students.[4]

The main spokesman for the Red Gaurs was Col. Suds Hasdin, head of the Internal Security Operations Com mand's hilltribes division, charged with counterinsurgenc planning in the dissident Northern region. Sudsai public defended the violent attack against Thammasat Univers by Red Gaurs in August 1975 with guns and plastic bom as a "warning" to leftist students.[5] (The Red Gaurs we provided with police walkie-talkies and trucks for th attack, while police stood by and watched.)[6] Sudsai openl declared in early 1976 that the Red Gaurs were a "fro group" which was set up to block the progress of the stu dent activists, and that other, similiar groups had been se up outside Bangkok under other names.[7] His nephew, wh heads the "enforcement" section of the organizati admitted in August 1976 that the organization rece material support and intelligence from ISOC and Police special branch, and coordinated its activities w *Nawapon*.[8]

These right-wing extremist groups, backed by t military and police counterinsurgency agencies, brough reign of terror to the countryside, aimed at organizers the Farmers' Federation of Thailand, formed in Novemb 1974. Between April 1975 and March 1976, 37 FF leaders were assassinated, including the President of th Northern section of the Federation.[9] Meanwhile, studen who returned in 1975 to villages where they had worke in 1974 with farmer organizers were threatened by thu affiliated with *Nawapon*.[10] Since landowners had be recruited into *Nawapon*, the political nature of the killin was beyond doubt. Yet provincial authorities suggested th deaths were caused by peasants killing each other. Not single suspect was arrested in any of the cases.

The right-wing killings sharply increased during the ca paigns for the April 1976 parliamentary elections, af Minister of Defense Pramarn Adireksan, leader of the rig wing Chart-Thai party in parliament with his own links *Nawapon*, put forward the slogan "right kill left." It was be the bloodiest election in Thai history.

On February 17, after two or three weeks in whi unsigned posters appeared in Bangkok accusing the N Force Party of being Communist, the Party's headquart was bombed by several Red Gaurs, one of whom was kill when a bomb went off in his hand. The ISOC's Col. Sud performed the cremation ceremony. The folowing day

1 Norman Peagam, "Rumblings on the Right," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, July 25, 1975, p. 13.

2 *Ibid.*

3 David Morell, "Political Conflict in Thailand," *Asian Affairs*, 1976, p. 165.

4 Peagam, "Rumblings on the Right," p. 14.

5 *Bangkok Post*, May 10, 1975.

6 David Morell, "Open Politics in Thailand: The Costs of Pol Conflict," unpublished manuscript, no date, p. 16.

7 *The Voice of the Nation*, March 4, 1976.

8 *Chaturat*, August 10, 1976. Cited in E. Thadeus Flood, "The U States and the Military Coup in Thailand: A Background Study," china Resource Center, October 1976, p. 6.

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member of the Central Committee of the National Student Center of Thailand, who had helped organize student strikes against a *Nawapon* propagandist at a University in Bangkok, was gunned down in a village near Korat. Later in February, the Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, a graduate of Cornell University, who was organizing a protest movement against U.S. military forces in Thailand, was assassinated. On March 2, one of the few vocational schools in Bangkok with a strong left-wing group was bombed, and three students were killed. And on March 22, as the NSCT held a major demonstration calling for withdrawal of all U.S. troops, the Red Gaurs threw a fragmentation grenade into the rally killing four and wounding 82.[11]

Bombs were also thrown into crowds listening to candidates of parties identified by the *Nawapon* and Red Gaurs as left-wing, and precinct workers in rural areas affiliated with those parties were assassinated. At least 30 individuals are believed to have been killed during the campaign by right-wing terrorists.[12] It was no surprise when the liberal parties were badly defeated in the election, and the right-wing parties gained ground. More important for the future of Thai politics, many liberal intellectuals and activists viewed this violence as the prelude to a right-wing military coup, with its attendant purge of the left, and went underground or left the country.[13]

The United States, which had trained the individuals and shaped the institutions which had carried out counter-insurgency operations in the past, was complicit in the rise of this neo-fascist movement. Certainly the U.S. Mission did nothing to discourage it, and there is reason to believe that the U.S. may have covertly supported it.

The dramatic reduction in the scale of U.S. involvement from the peak of 49,000 military personnel in Thailand in 1969 did not disrupt the personal and institutional links between the U.S. and the right-wing military officers behind both the Nawapon-Red Gaur complex and the coup itself. The U.S. continued to work closely with those officials despite the "low profile" policy of the U.S. on internal Thai affairs which followed the October 1973 overthrow of the Thamom-Prapas regime.

The Communist Suppression Operations Command (CSOC) later renamed Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC), was an American creation. CSOC was created in December 1965, on the insistence of U.S. Ambassador Graham Martin.[14] The key office in CSOC was that of the Directorate of Operations, headed by Saiyud Kerdpol, one of the small group of counterinsurgency specialists who planned the establishment of the extremist anti-Communist groups in 1974. Saiyud's prominence in the Thai government was a result of his direct connections with the Americans — particularly, with the CIA. The man who served as the U.S. liason with Saiyud was Peer de Silva, Martin's "Special Assistant for Counterinsurgency Affairs," a high-ranking CIA official who had previously been Station Chief in several other countries, and, had also been special assistant to the U.S. Ambassador in Vietnam for counterinsurgency affairs.

From 1966 to 1968, de Silva pushed for the consolidation of several village defense organizations into one Village Security Force which was then paid directly by CSOC, presumably from CIA funds. In addition, de Silva and Saiyud set up "Political Action Teams" in order to conduct surveys of political attitudes in the villages. Modeled after census-grievance teams in Vietnam, which were also a CIA-run operation, the program was run by joint U.S.-Thai committees at the national and province level which agreed on training sites, areas for recruitment and deployment, and salaries for the agents. Again, CIA funds were used to finance the program.

Even though the U.S. role in Thai counterinsurgency programs was sharply reduced along the U.S. military presence, the CIA continued to work with Saiyud and CSOC after October 1973, as Saiyud himself told the press in February 1974.[15] Indeed, Saiyud's contacts with the U.S. were, if anything, even better in 1975 than ever before, judging from the fact that he was one of two Thai security specialists who accompanied Foreign Minister Chatchai on his trip to Washington in November 1975.

The U.S. reaction to the terrorism and assassinations which were carried out by the Red Gaurs and their *Nawapon* allies was essentially to look the other way and continue to collaborate with the perpetrators. One high official of the U.S. Embassy, questioned about the U.S. attitude toward the involvement of Saiyud and Sudsai with the terrorist organizations, told *Counterspy* that the Embassy made no effort to indicate that it opposed the right-wing terror. "I just don't see it as our role to go the the Thais and say don't do this," he said. "We are not the keepers of morality of the world."

This attitude of strict non-interference is reserved, of course, for those questions on which it is convenient for the U.S. not to be involved. In this case, it clearly suggested that the U.S. was far from upset at the political impact of the assassinations of opposition activists. The same official tried to minimize the seriousness of the right-wing terror campaign. "Violence was happening on both sides," he said. "I was never clear about who was doing what to whom."

The atmosphere of benign tolerance toward *Nawapon* and Red Gaurs in the U.S. mission was such that at least some officers openly applauded their work. An incident occurred during this writer's visit to Bangkok in December 1975 which illustrates this attitude. A young army captain who served as escort officer for the House Select Committee on Missing Persons during its stay in Bangkok was asked casually about the Red Gaurs. He replied that he knew Col. Sudsai very well, having worked with ISOC as an adviser on counterinsurgency, and that he still saw him and other ISOC officers frequently. He told me with evident relish that leaders of the Red Gaurs had told him that they planned to kill the 100 top Communists in the country before March 20 (the deadline for American troop with-

9 Ian MacDonald, "The Gathering Storm," *Thai* (Victoria, Australia), June 1976, p. 15. For a detailed report on the assassinations to August 1975, see "Thai Peasants' Leaders Murdered," *Ampo* (Tokyo), Vol. 7, No. 4 series, No. 26; October-December 1975.

10 Morell, "Political Conflict in Thailand," *Asian Affairs*, p. 165.

11 Morell, "Open Politics in Thailand," p. 17.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

13 Letter from a foreign observer in Bangkok, March 5, 1976.

14 These paragraphs on CSOC are based on George K. Tanham, *Trial in Thailand* (New York: Crane, Russak, 1974).

15 *Sangkhomsat Parithat*, February 1974. Cited in Flood, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

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drawals)—especially, he added, those in Bangkok.

But did official U.S. policy go beyond mere tolerance of the right-wing terrorists in Thailand to active, covert support? A high-ranking civilian official of the Seni Pramoj government told a foreign visitor just a few weeks before the coup that both *Nawapon* and the Red Gaurs were being financed by the CIA. This official did not give any details on how the financing was done, but it was reported as recently as August 1975 that the Internal Security Operations Command had a secret budget of some 500 million baht ($25 million) annually.[16] The CIA has a long history of funding the activities of that agency, and it would not be surprising if CIA funds were earmarked for the organization of paramilitary political groups of the right.

When asked about CIA support, Col. Sudsai replied, "I sometimes wonder why they do not support us, as we do some things which must please them."[17] The primary spokesman and organizer for *Nawapon*, U.S.-educated Wattana Kiewvinol, who doubles as a "consultant" to ISOC, bragged about his "connections" with the CIA as well as then Vice President Agnew when he returned to Thailand in 1974.[18] The question of whether or not the CIA has in fact financed *Nawapon* and the Red Gaurs through ISOC should be subject to thorough investigation by the Senate Intelligence Oversight Committee, which has the power to demand documents pertaining to the Agency's relationship with ISOC.

In view of the direct involvement of high officials of the military and police in setting up these right-wing terrorist groups, it is significant that the same men have been reported as being active in prompting a military takeover. Col. Sudsai himself was said to be very close to General Bunchai, who became Commander in Chief of the Army in April 1976, and is now a major figure in the military junta. Another Colonel on the ISOC staff, Colonel Thawat Phisuthiphan, was very close to Admiral Sa-ngat Chaloyu, former Supreme Commander of the armed forces and now the head of the junta. It was Col. Thawat who reportedly arranged the alliance of the two top military leaders which made possible the military coup of October 6.

The hand of the political warfare specialists of ISOC and Thai intelligence was apparent in the events leading up to the coup. The object of the return of former dictator Gen. Thanom Kittikachorn in September appears to have been to provoke a showdown between right and left which would both discredit the activist students and permit the final crushing of their movement. Upon his arrival in Bangkok Thanom was transformed immediately into a Buddhist Monk, with shaven head and begging bowl.

The King appeared at his Wat (temple) to confer with the abbot in charge, conferring new legitimacy to Thanom's presence. Some 5,000 "village scouts," a civic action group under the King's personal patronage and linked with *Nawapon*, were brought in, ostensibly to guard the Wat against leftist attack. These circumstances meant that the students would risk the accusation of being against the King and Buddhism by demonstrating against Thanom. Although there were some protests, there were none near the size and enthusiasm generated by the attempt of the former Interior Minister Prapas Charusthien to return in August. According to official U.S. observers in Bangkok, right-wing agents were active among the students as agent-provocateurs in the hope that a confrontation could be engineered.

But it was only after two activists were found hanged by police outside Bangkok that students barricaded themselves in Thammassat University. On October 3, the students protested the hangings with a skit about the episode. Photos of the skit were published the following day in the Bangkok press and none of the newspapers, except for the right-wing press, found any connection between the play and the monarchy.[19] But the *Nawapon*-controlled papers declared that one of the two playing the dead students had been made up to look like the crown prince—an absurd notion on the face of it.

The Armored Brigade Radio station began charging the students with high treason for this alleged insult to the royal family and calling for revenge. At 1 a.m. on Wednesday, the station broadcast the following statement: "At 1:00 *Nawapon* men throughout the country are urgently requested to contact *Nawapon* coordinators. In the Bangkok area they should report at once to operation centers . . . (they) must be prepared to carry out activities in cooperation with government authorities." If the government did not take action against the students, it said, "the *Nawapon* will take action to defend the nation, the religion and the monarchy."[20]

Thanks to the atmosphere of hatred already created by the right-wing strategists, this brazen political warfare ploy succeeded in its aim. Hundreds of village scouts and vocational students surrounded the University students, some with weapons. The Thai Border Patrol Police, the element in the police most involved in counterinsurgency and the one on which the CIA concentrated most of its efforts, carried out an assault by fire against the essentially unarmed students, killing at least 100. The right-wing youth then committed some of the worst atrocities in living memory, lynching, burning and mutilating the survivors of the police attack. One long-time foreign correspondent said he had never witnessed "such mass mindlessness, malevolence, such an unholy irrationality." (For a moment, it seemed that the mob threatened to get out of control, according to Embassy reports; there was talk of storming the national assembly and of lynching members of the Premier's Democratic Party.) But the violence was just what the coup planners wanted; it provided the pretext for the overthrow of the civilian government.

Another indication of the central role that counterinsurgency specialists of ISOC in the coup is the fact that the most important political detainees who face "rehabilitation camps" and long prison sentences if they do not "recant" of their past ideas, are being held and interrogated not by the Criminal Investigation Division, but by ISOC itself. This is the logical conclusion of a counterinsurgency program turned against all those who threaten the power of the ruling elite.

16 *Bangkok Post*, May 6, 1975.

17 Peagam, "Rumblings on the Right," p. 14.

18 Morell, "Political Conflict in Thailand," p. 164.

19 *London Times*, October 1976.

20 *Ibid.*

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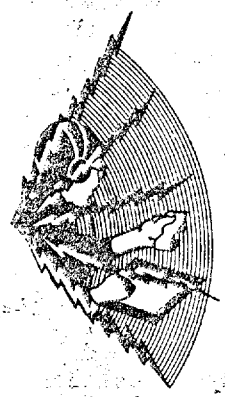
=*Securinews* is a new magazine published by the Industrial and Commercial Security Association of South Africa (ICSASA), a non-profit association headed by Frederick Norman Haslett, Managing Director of South African Eagle Insurance Co., Ltd. The magazine will be issued bimonthly and will feature a broad range of security subjects unique to South Africa. Columns on legal decisions and new products will appear regularly. For subscription information write: Securinews, 210 Lyndhurst Road, Lyndhurst, Johannesburg 2001, South Africa.

=Joel Swerdlow and Frank Mankewitz, who are writing a book together on the impact of television on American society, entitled *Remote Control*, to be published by Quadrangle/New York Times, have written an interesting fiction piece in the the September 19, 1976 issue of the *Washington Post's Potomac* magazine. In the article, they describe the efforts of a young investigative reporter who attempts to discover whether the television media have been using subliminal perception tricks since the Truman administration. Interestingly they discuss the use of this technique in the movie *The Exorcist*. CounterSpy first revealed the use of images the conscious mind cannot see, but which activate subconscious centers of the brain, in our second issue. We are looking forward to Swerdlow and Mankewitz's new book.

=A new crime prevention program, designed to revitalize business, featuring innovative approaches and concepts in architectural design and organization is being tested in Portland, Oregon. The $1.3 million program will focus on Union Ave., a 200-block commercial area, and will include construction of safe-passage corridors along existing streets to link commercial areas and transit stops to residential areas, installation of new street lighting, creation of mini-malls and mini-plazas to increase personal security, and the boosting of pedestrian traffic (and thus profits) through existing stores. The program would also encourage residents to carry a minimum of cash and to use credit systems. The project grew out of research studies initiated by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice to study crime and its relationship to the physical environment.



Technofascism

=Security manufacturers have still not found a solution to the "magnet problem." According to Department of Commerce Technical Note #735 (July 1972), a permanent magnet, requiring no external power source, can instantaneously erase the magnetic, computerized records of a business. The extent of the erasure depends upon the strength of the magnet and its distance from the magnetically encoded records. Computer center managers have tried to take measures to detect and prevent the entry of magnetic devices into their facilities. They have shielded file cabinets, kept electrical equipment at a safe distance from any computer storage area, inspected the computer room to prevent magnetic devices from being plugged into electrical outlets, limited access to authorized personnel, and maintained duplicate copies of files to permit reconstruction of records. Some firms have installed magnetic field detectors at entry doorways to the computer centers.

Most computer center managers still worry that in the event of a riot, civil disturbance, or any other stressful situation, techniques they have developed still allow enough time for some disrupter with a magnet to erase records before security personnel can be alerted.

=A new system of "explosives tagging" will allow law enforcement officers to identify, date, and trace the substance used in almost any explosive. The secret process for the explosive tagging system is tiny grains of phosphors encapsulated in polyethylene plastic. When the manufacturer makes up a batch of a particular explosive, he would mix a tiny amount of the phosphors with the explosive. By using a variety of phosphors, he could code the explosives to provide almost any data desired.

For example, should extremists set off a bomb, police would use ultraviolet devices to detect these tiny traces of phosphors and thus determine such data as the manufacturer's name, the age of the explosive, the type of explosive, and in many cases to whom it was sold. Even if the material is stolen, it would be possible to tell from whom it was stolen. Should a series of bombings take place across the nation, police officers would be able to detect whether all of the explosives used came from the same source. Officials will also be able to detect man-made explosions as opposed to natural explosions far more easily and positively.

The major draw back to this new system of counter-terrorist technology is political. Most extremist groups set off bombs to make a political statement by drawing public attention to their cause. So, although this new system allows police to track down bombers, the deed is done and the political point scored.

=*Pacific Research and World Empire Telegram* for May-June 1976 has an important report on the Indonesian government's choice of a $160 million satellite-based communications system. This seems incompatible for a country with a yearly per capita income of only $120 which sorely needs social service programs.

=A new book, *The Science of Electronic Surveillance*, based on a special study for the National Wiretap Commission in November, 1975, describes electronic invasion techniques and security countermeasures. The publication is a new edition of the original Commission report. It reviews eavesdropping technology, summarizes the study findings and conclusions and includes a reference bibliography and glossary. The original report revealed that the vast majority of police and national security wiretaps are not covered by any wiretap legislation. These wiretaps are the so-called switch and signal taps where law enforcement and security agencies gather intelligence from recording the traffic of phone calls—who called whom and when—rather than listening to the actual conversations. You would be surprised how much information is gathered by switch and signal taps. The book is a must for anyone interested in electronic surveillance. Available for $35 from AASD, P.O. Box 3154, Thousand Oaks, CA 91359.

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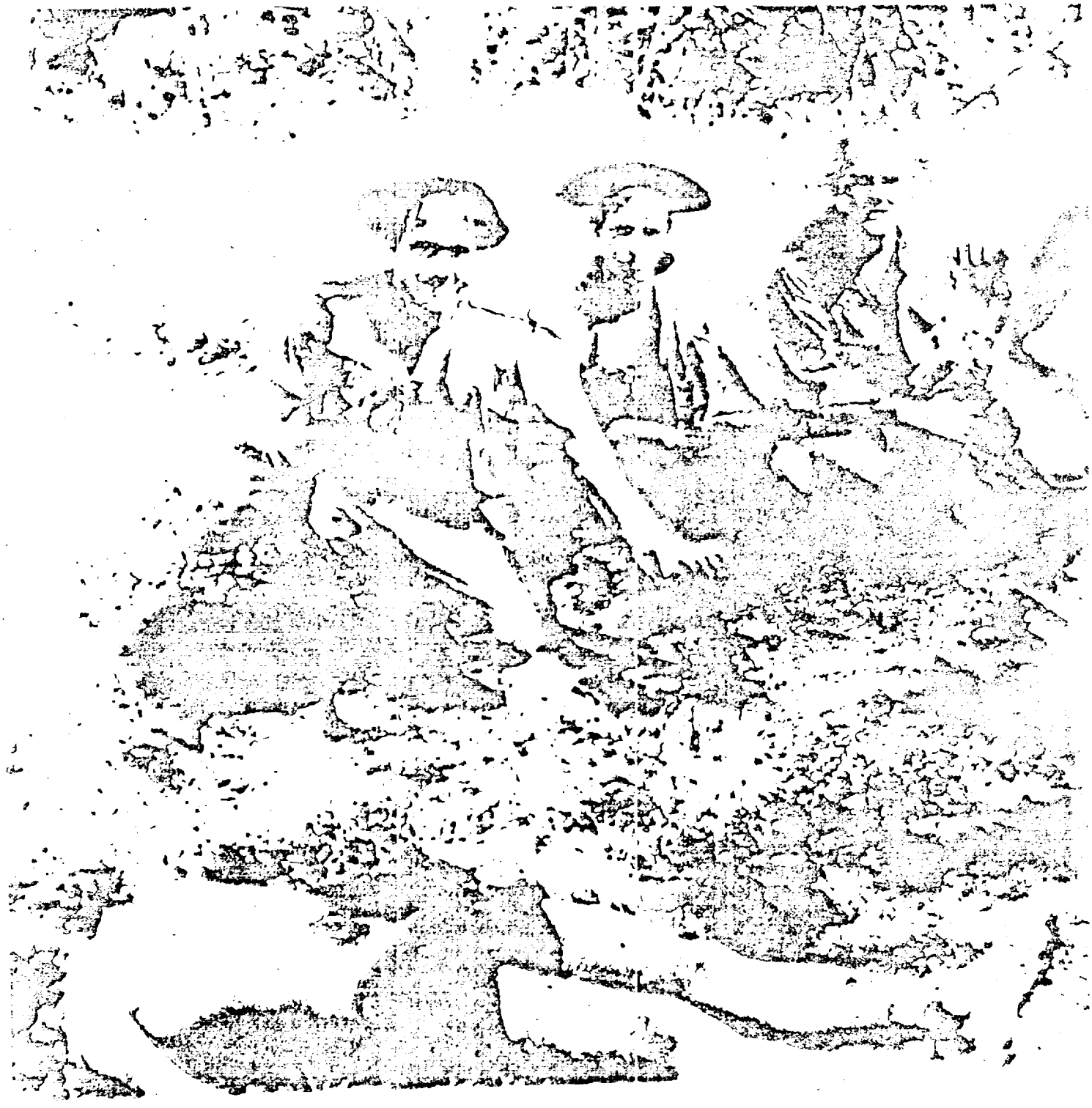
SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

War Crimes Indochina



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CBS Aids Pentagon Cover Up

The recent shake-up at Black Rock, the CBS glass-and-granite monolith on Manhattan's Avenue of the Americas, when CBS Chairman William S. Paley fired President Arthur R. Taylor, won't be the only trouble at CBS to rumble the broadcasting industry. Waiting off camera is a legal battle that already has produced enough evidence to threaten the reputation of CBS News and its staff. If the courts rule in favor of the plaintiff, it will be evidence that CBS participated in a cover-up of high crimes by the U.S. government in Vietnam.

Col. Anthony B. Herbert (Ret.), author of *Soldier*, the best-selling account of Vietnam war crimes committed by American soldiers in Herbert's command, is suing CBS, and "60 Minutes" producer Barry Lando, and reporter Mike Wallace for $22 million. Herbert charges that their program, "The Selling of Col. Herbert" was a hatchet job designed to discredit the war crimes issue. Neither CBS, its lawyers nor Herbert's lawyers would comment on the case, but Herbert's lawyers, Jonathon Lubell and Mary O'Melveny have made available to *CounterSpy* copies of depositions and other documents that have been exchanged between the parties. The first set of documents are official Army Criminal Investigative Division (CID) reports obtained through the Freedom of Information Act. Alone, they are enough to substantiate Herbert's original charges and they further indicate that war crimes were far more pervasive than Herbert originally charged. (See accompanying article.)

The depositions reveal that producer Barry Lando conceived the segment on Herbert in the fall of 1971 and discussed writing a book on the treatment of prisoners in Vietnam; but Herbert wasn't interested. Then in February 1972, Lando formally proposed the Herbert program to CBS. Mike Wallace, the reporter who was to host the show, took the idea to "60 Minutes" executive producer Don Hewitt who, in turn discussed the idea with CBS vice president William Leonard. The CBS attitude was that, unless there was a new angle to the story, it shouldn't be done.

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But Lando pursued the investigation for the show interviewing many of the officers Herbert witnessed covering up torture and mayhem. Wallace, for some unexplained reason, was convinced Herbert was a liar. By June 21, Lando had changed his mind about Herbert. The atmosphere at CBS was heated because "60 Minutes" was under heavy fire from the Nixon White House and the Pentagon for its critical report "The Selling of the Pentagon." Charles Colson had intimidated CBS news chief Frank Stanton at White House meetings. "The Selling of Col. Herbert" appears to be the way CBS apologized for "The Selling of the Pentagon." Lando went on to produce the program, with the Army providing misleading information on Herbert's charges.

Herbert's briefs cite evidence, examined by *CounterSpy*, that CBS suppressed a second interview with Col. Ross Franklin, Herbert's commanding officer in Vietnam, which was more favorable to Herbert's allegations, and instead aired an earlier interview which was unfavorable. CBS ignored corroborative evidence from officers, supporting Herbert's reporting war atrocities to Franklin. The timing of Herbert's official charge against Franklin and others was misrepresented by Wallace on the program as well. '60 Minutes" gave the uncorroborated (and now contradicted) impression that Herbert himself had participated in atrocities. These and other techniques resulted in discrediting Herbert and the war crimes issue.

Ultimately, the jury will decide in this case, and Herbert's lawyers have every reason to be confident. Although his original charges have been substantiated, Herbert has other problems; someone is trying to kill him.

Shortly after a high Pentagon official told Herbert, "We'll destroy you," Herbert found dynamite planted in his car. Another time, a sniper took a shot at his car as he was leaving Fort McPherson, narrowly missing Herbert's head. The most recent attempt was more bizarre.

Herbert left his home near Charlestown, Georgia, one morning last May to teach a class at a nearby college. The gear shift of his car came off and he pulled into a garage to have it fixed. The mechanic on duty, after telling Herbert he thought the gear shift had been sheared, also noticed the tubes to the brake drums had been sliced. Herbert had noticed trouble breaking as he pulled into the garage. The mechanic attached temporary sleeves connecting the ends of the breakhoses. Herbert went to class.

That evening when he returned home on the interstate highway, two large trailer trucks pulled up close, one in front and one behind. As Herbert approached a turn in the road the trailer in back accelerated up to the side of his car, suddenly the trailer in front slammed on its brakes. Without the temporary connection on Herbert's car, he surely would have slammed into the truck, but Herbert was able to stop. Because of the truck on his left, he wasn't able to steer out of the way. Herbert glanced up and saw two men on the second truck throw a huge nylon net over his car. Herbert swerved towards the embankment and stopped, but several glass containers of gasoline attached to the net had already caught fire. By sheer luck the net did not catch under the car as it was designed to do. Herbert was not trapped inside. He escaped and, with the help of other motorists, put out the fires and cut the net off his car. The two trucks disappeared down the road before the highway patrol could arrive. The highway patrol discovered that Herbert's emergency brake had also been sabotaged.

Herbert doesn't know who wants him dead; his enemies by now include the Army bureaucracy, CBS, and of course, the right-wing fringe who are angry over his charges and hate everything he symbolizes. The police and insurance reports on these incidents are vague and it is doubtful any law enforcement agencies will uncover any new evidence about the attempts on his life. But the nature of the last attempt indicates that professional killers want Herbert. This doesn't seem to dissuade him. He has faced professional killers most of his adult life.

Good-natured, slow-talking, gentle and only reasonably morally indignant, Herbert is the complete military man. Few of Herbert's contemporaries equal this epitome of a soldier. He's six-feet-three inches tall, Spartan lean with perfect posture, Prussian-cropped hair, and a jutting chin. His military career began 20 years ago when he dropped out of high school to volunteer for the Korean war. He survived numerous battles and won his sergeant's stripes, a Bronze star, three Silver Stars, four Purple Hearts, and a glittering collection of other medals for his heroism. The Army chose him for a whirlwind tour of the world's capitals to thank those countries that had contributed men, money, or material to the war. The Army displayed his picture on Army training manuals and recruiting posters.

After returning to the coal fields of Pennsylvania where he was raised, marrying the girl next door, completing high school requirements, and earning a college degree returned to service by 1956. Herbert's promotions swift by Army standards. He was a Ranger, a R instructor, then commander of all Rangers station Germany. He was a Pathfinder—the elite of the troopers—and then a Green Beret. He was assigned important duties in Europe, Africa, Canada and the Mid East as special representative of the Department of t Army and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In the mid-1960's, Kermit Roosevelt, who directed the CIA's coup d'etat in Iran in 1954, used Herbert to collect intelligence on certain Middle Eastern and African dignitaries. In 1965, Herbert led the combat invasion of the Dominican Republic. In 1968, he was assigned to Vietnam.

In 58 days of combat duty as battalion commander one of the Army's toughest outfits, he won another Sil Star, three more Bronze Stars, two Air Medals, the Ar Commendation Medal for Valor, and a recommendation the Distinguished Service Cross. One General, who knew him in Vietnam called him "one of the best, if not the best, combat commanders in the whole god damned Army.

Herbert was first assigned the job of acting Inspector General, a job similar to chief of detectives on a small-town police force, for the 173d Airborne Brigade. "Being an I.G. isn't exotic or complicated," Herbert explains, "It's really a basic, by-the-book kind of job." The Army rules say that anyone who witnesses another violate a minor rule, regulation, or commit a felony, war crime or atrocity

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is supposed to report it to his commanding officer. Then he's expected to pass it up the channel to the Inspector General who's supposed to investigate the report to find out if it happened or not. If he finds evidence, then his report usually becomes the basis for further action—sometimes another investigation, sometimes a court martial. If he finds no evidence the matter is dropped.

Conflict between what the Army says and what the Army did only encouraged Herbert's zealousness. Following the book soon earned him enmity from his superiors who were more interested in "punching their tickets" with a short Vietnam command than following the rules of the book. Before long, they knew Herbert might investigate them too. They knew, if need be, Herbert would check them all, right up the chain of command to the top.

The Army gave Herbert a combat command pulling him away from the responsibilities of the I.G. For the next few months, Herbert led his 500 paratroopers into the most heated battles and scored big victories with small casualties: "I tried to stay with my people as much as I could—to show them, not tell them, it's possible to operate with fear—to pull them rather than push." Herbert explains, "It's the only way to handle that many men in a fire fight."

Herbert began witnessing and hearing about war crimes. He remembered Korea when a commander just slapped a recently captured Chinese sniper who had shot 20 men. He remembered the commander was court-martialed. In Vietnam, Herbert heard and saw worse war crimes with far less official punishment for those found guilty. On February 14, 1969, Herbert witnessed a Vietnamese Police unit with an American advisor from the Phoenix program execute up to 15 detainees. Detainees are prisoners who have not yet been officially interrogated and are legally innocent civilians.

According to Herbert, he returned to the Brigade Headquarters and reported what he calls the "St. Valentine's Day Massacre" to Colonel J. Ross Franklin, deputy commander of the Bridage. Herbert claims he reported seven other incidents to Franklin over the next few weeks including three to which he was an eye witness. These involved an American military intelligence officer stuffing a wet rag down a prisoner's throat to induce him to talk, American intelligence officers torturing a Vietnamese girl with electrical shock and forcing prisoners to roast inside metal containers where the temperatures soared above 150 degrees and officers flailing the breasts of women prisoners with bamboo rods. Herbert also claims to have reported three of these crimes, including the events of February 14th, to General John Barnes, commander of the Brigade.

Each time Herbert reported the incidents to Col. Franklin, he grew more impatient with Herbert's "decency." Herbert recalls that Franklin first told him these were "legitimate field interrogation techniques" and that it was not Herbert's business to question methods and that if Herbert "was so damned morally offended by that, (he) ought to think of leaving." Later Franklin would accuse Herbert of lying about these encounters. Franklin, still on active duty today, was a West Point graduate believed to be General Barnes' handpicked successor to command the 173d. According to most accounts, Franklin actually ran the outfit and had an extremely close relationship with Barnes who, in turn, was a personal friend of President Nguyen Van Thieu.

Herbert continued to badger them about the war crimes with no response.

Then in April, Franklin sent Barnes a devastating Efficiency Report on Herbert. Heretofore, Herbert's ER's were laudatory of his abilities. Franklin reported that Herbert had no ambition, had terrible appearance, was not dependable, did not cooperate, had no integrity, no moral courage, no loyalty or will for self-improvement. It reported Herbert had a tendency to exaggerate and had, on occasions, deliberately lied as well as pitted himself against the brigade commander and his staff. Based on the opinions of his friend and deputy Franklin, Barnes officially relieved Herbert of his battalion command and recommended he should never command again.

In Saigon, Herbert appealed the judgment of General Barnes. As if sensing a hot potato for the Army, Herbert was exonerated of all counts but lost his appeal for reinstatement of command. The hearings conducted by General Reus, concluded that Herbert was a "strong, aggressive, outspoken personality who was respected and admired by his subordinates." The report concluded there was no question "as to Herbert's personal bravery or leadership quality" and there was "no positive evidence reflecting on Herbert's loyalty." The report went on, "Franklin was prone to reach judgments regarding Herbert's performance of duties, his loyalty and integrity and render opinions thereon to General Barnes without, in most cases, determining the facts, General Barnes formed evaluations of Herbert's performance based on information primarily received from Franklin, as well as his own feelings, observations and intuitions. Some of the specifics told to General Barnes have not been substantiated by evidence adduced in this investigation." Then the hearing concluded that no redress be granted concerning Herbert's relief from command.

Returning to the U.S., Herbert's assignment was suddenly changed from the Command General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth—graduation from which might have earned Herbert a star—to a basement desk job as a recruiter at Fort McPherson near Atlanta. Vietnam gnawed at his gut. Everything had been by the book, but his career was threatened and everyone else was doing fine. Barnes routed to the Pentagon and became a Major General; Franklin became commander of another battalion in another brigade. Franklin was also appointed a member of the Peers Commission, then investigating the incident at My Lai. Lieutenant Gen. William Peers personally asked Congress to assign Franklin to the Commission even though Franklin had just been investigated for covering up a "body-bombing" incident in his command, thus reflecting Franklin's close personal relationship with the top Pentagon brass. Franklin has refused to allow *CounterSpy* to investigate Efficiency Reports relating to his own loss of command over the "body-bombing" incident but reliable sources have indicated that Franklin, in a fit of jealousy had a body dumped on the HQ of a rival commander. It's unclear whether the Vietnamese was alive or dead when dumped.

In late 1970, Herbert went to the Pentagon to make sure

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the incidents he reported were investigated. He was assured that the Criminal Investigative Division was working on it since he had filed formal criminal charges at Fort McPherson in September.

Finally, on March 12, 1971, nearly two years after he was relieved of his command, and less than a month before the statute of limitations expired, Herbert submitted formal charges against Franklin and Barnes. He accused them of dereliction of duty, concealment of a felony and failure to obey regulations. His affidavits reported eight criminal allegations for which no inquiries were made until he returned to the U.S. The CID privately confirmed that all of Herbert's claims did in fact occur. The recently released CID reports indicate even *more* incidents occurred in the Brigade's area of operations.

Herbert's allegations broke in the press in July, 1971 in an interview in *Life* magazine. In that article Herbert speculated that after the Tet offensive of 1968 the war deteriorated from a war honorably fought to one in which war crimes were pervasive. Herbert noted that General Westmoreland, Commander of the Military Assistance Command in Vietnam, had once remarked that he "wanted more bodies," a phrase that always rang in the ears of American soldiers.

On July 27, about two weeks after the interview was published, the chief investigator of the Third Army's IG/ office directed Herbert to report to him about the remarks made in the *Life* interview. Herbert appeared with his lawyers and although he was told the investigation was personally ordered by Westmoreland, neither Herbert nor the I.G. learned much, because Herbert refused to answer questions. By this time it was obvious the Army planned to dismiss him. Although the ACLU appealed this harassment at Westmoreland's orders, Herbert was forced to retire.

New York Times correspondent James T. Wooten wrote another piece for the Sunday magazine section of the *New York Times* that led to Herbert's appearance on the "Dick Cavett Show" although the army tried to prevent Herbert's appearance by denying him leave. This show brought more viewer response than any earlier Cavett programs and led to many more articles for and against Herbert in the press. The Army continued to harass Herbert and produced a fact sheet on him refuting his charges even though the CID had conclusive proof that the crimes did take place.

Herbert then visited an old friend in the Pentagon who warned him that if he wasn't *with* the Army he was *against* it and that he would be destroyed. The attempts on his life began shortly after this. Undaunted, Herbert soon collaborated with Wooten on the book *Soldier*.

Herbert, who now has his Ph.D., is teaching psychology in Colorado and spending the rest of the time with his family and assisting his lawyers in N.Y. on the libel suit against CBS. The Army still sticks by its fact sheet on Herbert's charges—now contradicted—and continues to investigate Herbert. In the course of *CounterSpy*'s investigation, one Army official tried to discover the source of Herbert's income for the lawsuit against CBS. When told of this, Herbert remarked, "The Army just can't believe that anyone would do anything as revolutionary as sticking to honest convictions in the truth and that my lawyers and I would finance what we are doing out of what little we have in our pockets."

Military Documents Verify War Crimes Charges

The dramatic disclosure of the My Lai massacre in November, 1969, focused world attention on war crimes in Vietnam. Long before the My Lai story, however, there was ample evidence the U.S. was committing systematic war crimes and crimes against humanity on a daily basis throughout Indochina. Documentation of these crimes was published in *Liberation* magazine (December, 1967) and in the book, *In the Name of America*. Following these disclosures, additional data were presented at the "Winter-Soldier Investigations" sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. For the first time, U.S. soldiers publicly admitted committing atrocities. These testimonies, in turn, were incorporated into the public record at congressional hearings held by Representative Ronald Dellums.

Despite these revelations, the U.S. Government took no action.

In response to the My Lai publicity, the Army implicated thirty-one individuals. Only one, William Calley, was held to meaningful accountability. The other revelations were discounted as aberrations or the overstated accounts of war-fatigued soldiers. The military's public position was that its tactics were in compliance with the laws of war.

Counterspy has received official documents, obtained through the Freedom of Information Act in response to a suit by former Army Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Herbert, indicating the contrary. These documents prove that war crimes and crimes against humanity were committed by Americans in Vietnam, often so frequently as to be considered standard operating procedure. Secondly, the Army was well aware of these crimes since they were verified by the Army's Criminal Investigative Division (CID). Thirdly, despite its own findings, CID seldom prosecuted even acknowledged war criminals. The Army conveniently covered up everything by classifying the investigatory reports.

The CID reports, a few of which are presented here in narrative forms, detail unconscionable acts of barbarism inflicted by the U.S. Army against Vietnamese civilians, detainees, and POW's. They corroborate Herbert's alleged crimes and many many more. The CID reports mainly cover the actions of one U.S. battalion in one province in Vietnam. There is no reason to believe, however, that this battalion's crimes were aberrations. And chances are, the military has additional documentations of war crimes filed away at the Pentagon.

Clearly, this is an intolerable situation. The United States, more than any other country, pushed at Nuremberg

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and elsewhere to create a new era of international law and morality. Statespersons and leaders were to be held responsible for initiating an illegal war or conducting a war in an illegal manner. Justice Robert Jackson, Chief U.S. Prosecutor at Nuremberg, stated the issue clearly: *"If certain acts in violation of treaties are crimes, they are crimes whether the United States does them or whether Germany does them; and we are not prepared to lay down a rule of criminal conduct against others which we would be unwilling to have invoked against us."*

Counterspy is reopening the issue of war crimes in order to allow the U.S. Government to fulfill its acknowledged commitment to observing international law, particularly the Principles of Nuremberg. Proved war criminals must be prosecuted, removed from decision-making positions, and their policies and programs repudiated. Otherwise, war crimes and crimes against humanity will again be inflicted by the U.S.

Counterspy is also exposing the unwillingness of the U.S. Military to prevent war crimes as evidenced by the following narratives and the cover-up. Meaningful training in the observance of the laws of war must be incorporated into all phases of military life and continuously reviewed. Military personnel must be constantly cautioned against, and prevented from, criminal behavior. Disobedience to patently illegal orders should be reinforced. Given the continuing failure of the military to regulate itself, Congress should confirm the prohibition against war crimes and crimes against humanity in the federal criminal code. This would make adjudication of such criminal cases part of the judicial business of civilian federal courts. New legislation may also be in order. This could be determined by an investigation by the Senate Intelligence Committee whose involvement would be appropriate since war crimes such as Operation Phoenix were committed by the CIA and other intelligence groups.

These recommendations are the minimal measures for the prevention of future atrocities. These and other such reforms may be inadequate. There is mounting evidence that wars of counterinsurgency, such as the U.S. conducted in Indochina, are incompatible with the observance of the laws of war.

The People's Republic of Angola executed CIA paid mercenaries, whom the trial judge called "dogs of war with bloody muzzles." It may have far reaching effects in determining that counterinsurgency warfare is defined as a war crime. Given these possibilities, the National Study Committee on Indochina *has established a* War Crimes Project *to generate forums to educate the public about counterinsurgency wars and war crimes.*

GANG RAPE OF CIVILIAN

Members of Company C had reportedly perfected a modus operandi for the sexual assault of female Vietnamese detainees. This method of operation was put into effect on May 2, 1968. Nguyen Thi Phai, a 20 year-old woman, was detained following a cordon and search of Phu Loc hamlet.

No reason was given for her arrest.

Phai was first given a rectal shot of morphine to allow greater sexual capacity and facility. She was then raped and sodomized by at least ten U.S. soldiers. A Vietnamese doctor had been previously bribed to render a statement that Phai's subsequent condition was not the result of sexual assault.

The following day Phai was released indicating she was not a convicted offender, suspect, or Viet Cong. (Not that that would have justified her sexual assault.)

This war crime would have gone unnoticed if Company C had not detained Nguyen Thi Phai again on June 4, 1968. This time—out of fear of being raped again—Phai reported her previous rape to the U.S. Military Police (MP). A MP Report recorded: "Documentation in the form of blue bell reports, USAIRR index cards, an entry in the 173 Abn Bde CID log, and entries in the Daily Staff Journal of the Provost Marshal, IFFV, RVN, substantiated that an investigation was conducted of the rape at the time it was reported, . . ."

The "blue bell" report, filed June 22, 1968, substantiated Phai's charge of rape and sodomy. Secondly, "Nguyen tentatively identified Clemmie and Julian as two of the assailants . . ." and "Edward is alleged to have told Gary that he had intercourse with Nguyen twice on the night in question."

This report concluded with the peculiar remark: "Continuing publicity may be expected."

A second "blue bell" terminal report found ". . . insufficient evidence to substantiate that Julian, Clemmie, or Edward had committed the offense of rape." It did not, however, deny that the rape occurred. A CID investigator reported that the "complaint assigned was cancelled without any reason being indicated."

Subsequently, "A real thorough investigation was made by CID." The involved CID investigator filed a report (68-CID658-28614) which was received at U.S./Republic of Vietnam (USARV) headquarters. USARV, on August 8, 1968, forwarded the report to Fort Shafter, Hawaii (CINC/USARPAC).

A followup CID investigation attempted to obtain this report from USARV Headquarters. It received the following response: "Only record of CID ROI68-CID658-28614 in command is a log book entry . . . The case was rape. And there were 3 subjects, Edward, Clemmie, and Julian . . . All other records concerning this ROI (Report of Investigation) were destroyed."

Fort Shafter replied: "This headquarters is not in possession of a copy of referenced CID report."

CID concluded: "A completed copy of the CID report could not be located." Furthermore, copies of additional "reports or complaints were no longer available." Therefore, "his complaint is closed in the files of this office as no further action appears warranted."

One final proof of the rape was, however, established by CID. This was the reception of a solatium payment by Nguyen Thi Phai. Solatiums were financial payments to Vietnamese citizens victimized by U.S. soldiers.

**(CID ROI)70-CID121-00810;*
(CID ROI)71-CID055-24018;
Military Police Report, (173-70)-9;
Military Police Report, (173-70)-12;
Military Police Report, (173-70)-17

TORTURE AND MURDER OF EPILEPTIC

Nguyen Cong was a "civil defendant" sent to a U.S. Military Intelligence (MI) compound for interrogation. Two U.S. MI officers and several South Vietnamese interpreters/

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interrogators conducted the interrogation.

MI Officer David believed firmly that detainees would not talk without the use of limited force such as "slapping the prisoner, water technique, or electrical shock by field telephone wires."

True to his belief, David applied "limited force" on Cong for two days. Among other things, he "gouged Cong repeatedly with his knife scabbard; kicked him off a chair and then kicked Cong "around his waist and lower back region." At another point, David "grabbed Cong by the back of the head and neck, and forced his head into a pail of water . . . and Hiep (Vietnamese interrogator) then urinated on the man's face."

The Vietnamese interrogators also continuously kicked and beat Cong with boards. (One interrogator, later chastized for beating another POW, responded that if he "couldn't hit the prisoners to scare them into talking and/or telling the truth" then he wanted a transfer.)

During the first day of interrogation, Cong kept shaking, passing out, and "convulsing." He spent that evening at a "dispensary. The next day, he was returned for interrogation. During this interrogation, Cong was forced to lie on his back on the floor, and he was punched and kicked all over the body by the South Vietnamese. David also poured five gallons of water on Cong's face. "Subsequently, the detainee went into convulsions similar to those . . . observed during the first interrogation. Further, the detainee was biting his tongue." At this time Hiep looked at MI Officer Paul and said, "He's going to die."

Nguyen Cong died that very day.

MI Officer Paul was then approached by MI Officer David and told, "You better not say anything, if you know what's good for you."

Paul testified that David "was the meanest son-of-a-bitch" he had ever met who would kill him if he ever said anything about the murder. So in the initial CID investigation, which produced no indictments, Paul rendered a written, sworn statement that Cong had not been mistreated in any way.

The Captain in charge of David's section also testified that "All members were instructed not to discuss the incident with anyone outside the unit, during a formation held by Major George. "According to a later CO, Major Michael, "You know what the situation is on this. As officers we have to be careful about this sort of thing; . . . we cannot afford to get caught torturing prisoners." As mentioned, CID charged no one at this time.

Due to Herbert's later allegations, CID reopened this case. It reported: "Attempts to locate a copy of the autopsy report concerning Nguyen Cong were unsuccessful. Additionally, no copy of any CID report could be located concerning Cong's death." However, CID continued, "investigations disclosed that during the approximate period Mar. 68-Oct. 69 at . . . Vietnamese detainees were subjected to maltreatment by . . . [named 16 Americans and four Vietnamese] of the MI Detachment. Techniques employed included the transmission of electrical shock by field telephone, a water-rag treatment which impaired breathing, hitting with sticks and boards, and beating of detainees with fists. One detainee (Nguyen Cong) died Aug. 68, however maltreatment was not established as cause of death."

Despite its substantiation of widespread war crimes, CID again did not press charges against anyone.

(CID ROI 70-CID121-00080)

ST. VALENTINE'S DAY MASSACRE

On February 14, 1969, LTC. Anthony B. Herbert directed a military operation at Cu Loi (Quang Nhai Province), I.V.N. Resulting from this operation was the capture of VC POW's. Herbert directed SFC Wallace A. Warden to take the POW's back to the U.S. compound for interrogation. Upon returning the POW's to the helicopter evacuation site, Warden was intercepted by a group of Vietnamese National Police Field Forces (NPFF) headed by an American Phoenix advisor.

Warden testified that the National Police and their U.S. advisor had demanded the POW's. While Warden was arguing with the advisor, a National Police officer rifle-butted a bad POW. Another officer subsequently shot another POW.

Warden left to inform LTC. Herbert of what was occurring. Herbert, together with Dr. Laurence A. Potter, III, hurried to the scene of the on-going murders. He reported the following:

"As we broke through a clearing, I saw four Vietnamese males lying dead on the ground, one I recognized as a strong looking fellow we had just captured in the bunker and had questioned. There was an American lieutenant standing there and, I believe, he had on a black beret. There was a group of Vietnamese soldiers (NPFF) or police and one Vietnamese had a young woman by the head with his hand around her throat and a knife dug into her neck. I brushed past the lieutenant and hollered for the Vietnamese to stop. There was a child holding onto the woman's pants leg and crying. There was another child face down in the sand screaming and a Vietnamese soldier had his foot in the upper part of the child's back and was pushing the child into the sand. The Vietnamese soldier looked me directly in the eye, cut the woman's throat and dropped her to the sand."

In addition to Warden, three U.S. military personnel, Larry T. LeRoy, Robert R. Rousseau, and Michael D. Nuckols, testified that they witnessed the NPFF's executing the POW's while Warden was getting Herbert.

After castigating the Phoenix advisor, Herbert reclaimed the remaining five POW's. Warden was again authorized to return the POW's to the U.S. base. While waiting at the helicopter launching pad for evacuation, the same unit of NPFF's approached Warden, "laughing and talking." Then, "one of them took his carbine and pointed at one of the injured detainees (POW's) who was on the ground and fired about ten rounds into the detainee's body, killing him" in the presence of many G.I.'s.

Not content with their murders, this same U.S.-advised NPFF unit subsequently burned and looted the village of Cu Loi.

The involved Phoenix advisor, Lt. Bernard denied the murders by his NPFF's. He claims he would have reported same, "although this would cause a problem regarding his rapport, which was excellent, with the NPFF/RF/PF." Lt. Bernard refused to execute a written, sworn statement regarding this incident.

The U.S. Army CID Agency investigation confirmed the massacre.

"Investigation revealed that on February 14, 1969, during a combat operation of the 2d Bn, 503d Inf, 173d Abn Bde, at Cu Loi, Quang Nhai Province, RVN, unidentified South Vietnamese troops, accompanied by Lt. Bernard, American Advisor, murdered approximately eight VN detainees."

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(CID ROI)70-CID121-00802

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Investigation further revealed that subsequent to the murders, the Vietnamese troops looted and burned the village. Additionally, two Vietnamese detainees, prior to being released to American Intelligence, were beaten by the Vietnamese troops."

As usual, CID pressed no charges.

(CID ROI)70-CID121-00805;
(CID ROI)70-CID121-00806;
Military Policy Report, CIDA-T (70-512)-1

TORTURE

Q. "Have you ever attempted to extract information from prisoners or detainees in the Republic of Vietnam by attaching field wires to the detainee's body and cranking a field telephone causing electricity to pass through the attached wires?"

A. "Yes, I have used this method on several occasions as all interrogators in Vietnam have done the same."

The respondent to the above question was an enlisted man in a U.S. Army Military Intelligence (MI) Detachment at an Interrogation of Prisoners of War (IPW) Section in Vietnam. He was implicated in the torture and murder of Vietnamese detainees.

A CID investigation of the MI Detachment was conducted and at least 18 members gave sworn testimony. Without exception, they swore to the witmessing and/or administering of torture to Vietnamese civilian detainees and POW's. As the above-mentioned respondent explained: ". . . suspects won't tell you anything unless limited force of some type is used."

Limited force, according to the MI Detachment members, included the following torture techniques:

1) *Field Telephone.* Lead wires from a field telepnone are attached to parts of the body and the phone is cranked to deliver shocks.

2) *Electric Chair.* Lead wires from an electrical source are attached to a metal chair. Water is poured onto the chair, and when the detainees sit they are shocked.

3) *Water Rag.* A rag is placed over the mouth and nose of a restrained detainee. Water is then poured over the rag causing the detainee to choke.

4) *Drowning.* Detainee's head is held under water indefinitely.

5) *Dummy Grenade.* An uncharged grenade, with its pin pulled, is thrown at a detainee.

6) *M-16 Rifle.* A rifle, in view of the detainee, is loaded with a charged magazine (which is actually empty). The gun is then pointed at the detainee. The torturer then threatens to shoot unless the detainee talks.

7) *Slapping and Verbal Abuse.*

Additional tortures were also used extensively. These included: rifle-butting, punching, kicking, beating with boards (cleverely hidden as parts of a wall), threatening with a bayonet, and beating with a sock full of sand which leaves few marks.

Witnesses also testified that, not only was torture common, but also Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) for U.S. Military Intelligence. According to one MI Captain, "The policy was that prisoners could be treated roughly if the interrogators desired. My commanding officer, Major George, told me, 'Any treatment or maltreatment during the interrogation is justified if the information which is received might save the life of an American soldier.' And to my knowledge, this policy was known by all personnel in the interrogation section."

During this time period, there were two officers-in-charge of this MI Detachment; Captain Norman and Captain Robert. Captain Norman was quoted as instructing the MI Detachment to "do anything to get information from the prisoners because it is important to the guys in the field. Don't leave any marks." Several MI members testified that they saw Norman torture prisoners. Captain Norman was the only MI Detachment member who refused to testify when contacted by CID.

Captain Robert, according to CID, "orally admitted that he had participated in maltreatment of Vietnamese detainees at the IPW compound . . . (and) stated that he allowed IPW interrogators to use harsh methods of interrogation against Vietnamese who were suspected of being VC/NVA. (These methods included) slapping, pushing, striking, and beating detainees with hands, fists, or sticks and administering punishment by electrical shocks and water torture methods of interrogation. (He) advised that this type of interrogation continued with the knowledge of Major George."

CID concluded that "Vietnamese detainees were subjected to maltreatment" by practically every member of the MI Detachment. Nevertheless, no one was charged with any violation.

(CID ROI)70-CID121-00802

MACABRE CHRISTMAS CARD

The spirit of Christmas, 1968, was celebrated in Company C by the creation of their own Christmas card.

A company medic, affectionately known as "Doc", photographed a dead, unarmed Vietnamese civilian with half his face blown away. At the time, the Kodak Company was offering to make Christmas cards out of photographs. "Doc" decided to take advantage of this offer. He had 50 atrocity photograph cards made with the caption "Peace on Earth/Peacemakers—173d Abn Bde 2nd Bn CoC."

Pinned to the forehead of the dead Vietnamese was the insignia of the 173rd Airborne Brigade.

Several of "Doc's" commanding officers, including his platoon leader, knew of the cards prior to their printing. None said not to print. "In fact, they thought it was a good idea."

"Doc's" platoon leader observed ". . . that it was a very striking picture" and that "it affected a striking contrast and commentary on war and the Xmas season" and "it was truly effective." He ordered a card for himself.

An Executive Officer in "Doc's" company remarked: "At the time I placed no significant importance on the statement (card caption). The next day I did pass the word on to Captain Gary and we both laughed about it." Later, the Executive Officer purchased three cards.

Another platoon leader in "Doc's" Company obtained four to seven Christmas cards.

Accordingly, "Doc" found "there were so many people, including officers and NCO's, who wanted the cards that I ordered 25 more."

The cards were distributed around the battalion. Some were mailed to parents, brothers, close friends, and even a Sigma Chi Fraternity house in the United States.

During this time, Doc's Company retained a new com-

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mander. He rendered a decision that "cards of this nature are in themselves a 'War Crime' and would indicate that the American Soldier is a War Monger and possesses morals of an extremely low standard."

Subsequently, the cards available were confiscated and destroyed. However, "several officers in the Battalion kept the cards for their personal property."

The involved individuals were reprimanded and "counselled concerning the responsibilities and duties of a U.S. Army officer."

A subsequent CID investigation was initiated due to the allegation that the dead Vietnamese was intentionally mutilated in order to provide a subject for the Xmas card.

The original CID investigation report—"two inches thick"—could not be found and the case was terminated with no preferring of charges.

(CID ROI)70-CID121-00813

MEDICAL COVER-UP

Doctor William was the battalion surgeon, whose job was to provide technical supervision of the medical affairs of the battalion and to assist the younger physicians. In his own words, he was "friendly and on occasions sat at the same table at dinner" with Major Michael, Company Commander.

Doctor William contended that the Brigade's Staff Judge Advocate had informed him of two detainee deaths during interrogation and that he was requested to arrange autopsies which he did.

Together with the Staff Judge Advocate, Doctor William accompanied Cong's body to the hospital. He observed a "small recent abrasion over the upper left quadrant of the abdomen in the anterior axillary line." Furthermore, "there may have been rope indentations on the wrists. With the body opened, a large volume of blood was noted in the peritoneal cavity and the spleen was noted to be grossly enlarged, possibly due to malaria, reaching to the left iliac crest." (Doctor William testified he "had no previous experience with malaria prior to my arrival in Vietnam.")

Doctor Donald was the pathologist who, under Dr. William's observation, actually performed the autopsy. Dr. William stated "As I recall, it was our mutual conclusion that the spleen could have been ruptured by day-to-day activity, or by an external force which caused the abrasion on the left side."

When informed that Dr. Donald stated that rupture of the spleen most likely resulted from external injury, Dr. William agreed.

Dr. William, however, reported Cong's cause of death as "Exsanguination due to ruptured (prob. malarial) spleen."

Dr. William denied that he oversaw the autopsy in order to "influence the decision of the pathologist so that MI personnel of the . . . would not be implicated."

Dr. William did, however, state "I was relieved that there was no direct evidence that the Brigade operated in this fashion (*i.e.* torture/murder)."

Shortly thereafter, Dr. William oversaw a second autopsy; a 14-year old Vietnamese boy, who, according to CID determination, had been "beaten severely in the stomach prior to his death" by members of the same MI Detachment.

Regarding this incident, the above-mentioned OIC testified as follows: "After the detainee had died, LTC. William, Brigade Surgeon, came to our unit to discuss the problem with Major Michael . . . . Major Michael told LTC. William that some of his men had beaten the prisoner and LTC. William replied that he would personally go to the hospital at Qui Nhon with the body to see that Major Michael's interests were served. I took this statement to mean that LTC. William would do what he could, to see that MI personnel were not implicated in the death of the detainee."

Asked whether he participated in a cover-up, Dr. William said: "Definitely not."

Examination of the 14-year old boy, according to Dr. William, revealed "an abrasion on the right side of the face." And, as with Nguyen Cong, "a large volume of blood in the peritoneal cavity, and again, a greatly enlarged spleen with an obvious rupture."

As previously, Dr. William did not perform the actual autopsy. Dr. Kent, a pathologist, did. Dr. Kent reported that "the ruptured spleen was most likely due to external trauma."

Dr. William agreed with this diagnosis. "Yes. I think that it is quite likely that it was trauma of some sort, externally applied, which caused the spleen to rupture. However, I don't think that either the pathologist or I could state that this trauma was anything different from day-to-day bumps and bruises which occur."

"Dr. Kent also stated that a copy of the autopsy report in possession of CID was not adequate. He also implied that it had been altered, that the enclosure, 'no external evidence of trauma' (there was a facial abrasion) had been added to the front page, that the microscopic examination of his findings were missing from the report, and that his signature was missing from the report."

Regardless, Dr. William finally reported that "the cause of death in both cases was the spontaneous rupture of a spleen greatly enlarged as a result of chronic malaria."

Despite his denial of a cover-up, Dr. William later testified as follows:

Q. "Did you imply in any manner that it would be best for all concerned if the death could be shown to have resulted from natural causes rather than mistreatment?"

A. "I may have stated before the examination that I hoped that we wouldn't find evidence of mistreatment. . . ." Furthermore, ". . . my function was to protect the best interests of the Brigade and the individuals involved."

The Brigade's Provost Marshal at the time recorded the deaths "according to the Brigade Surgeon" as due to natural causes. Hence, investigations were terminated, and no charges were preferred.

(CID ROI)70-CID121-00802;
(CID ROI)70-CID121-00803;
(CID ROI)70-CID121-00811

John Kelly is a member of the War Crimes Project. Winslow Peck and Frank Forrestal provided assistance in the research for this story.

First names are used only [redacted] story.

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Juan Luis Bulnes Cerda

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responsible for the attack on Leighton in Rome. After DINA asked him to harass British trade union members who refused to work on frigates being built for the Chilean Navy, Wooler spilled his story on British national television.

Ewing then switched DINA headquarters to Geneva and assigned agents GONZALES HERRERA and PAZ SUBERCASEAUX to Berne, Switzerland. According to a dossier compiled by the Paris daily, *Liberation*, Subercaseaux was a cultural attache who spied on refugees. She was also a member of *Patria y Libertad*. In February 1976, ANDRES and PATRICIO MELGOZA arrived in Geneva. Swiss police watched them and grew concerned that they were there to kill RADOMIRO TOMIC, 1970 presidential candidate of the Christian Democrats. Swiss government officials warned the Chilean representative to the U.N. Human Rights Commission, SERGIO DIEZ, that he would be held responsible for any actions against Tomic.

The Melgoza brothers left Switzerland.

Brussels

Recently in Brussels, several Chilean refugees were suddenly confronted, face-to-face, with their former torturers—once at a political rally and on another occasion while waiting for a bus. *Agence France Press* reported on October 22 that DINA had just moved its headquarters to Brussels. MARIO JUAN BARRERA, a member of SIM since 1968, was sent to direct operations there. Brussels was chosen, according to the Rotterdam socialist paper *Het Vrije Volk*, because of the large number of Chilean military refugees who have settled in Holland and Belgium.

DINA Director MANUEL CONTRERAS and an assistant, PROVOST, were recently seen in Brussels. Former Chilean Air Force General SERGION POBLETE, exiled by Pinochet, also confirmed for the *Belga* news agency that DINA agents in Brussels, travelling under false identification, are boldly confronting Chileans they have tortured.

Other American Visits From DINA

The Letelier murder was not the first attempt by DINA to kill someone in the United States. Ewing's agents, Andres and Patricio Melgoza, who, with another brother Jorge, were involved in the Schneider assassination, arrived in New York City from Madrid in the summer of 1975. From sources at the U.N., *CounterSpy* has learned that FBI officials believed they were there to kill GABRIEL VALDES, the Chilean Undersecretary General of the U.N., who also resisted the Junta. The FBI alerted Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, who, in turn, summoned the Junta's ambassador to the U.N., Admiral ISMAEL HUERTA, and warned him against any actions threatening Valdes. The Melgoza brothers left New York.

In August 1975, according to Jack Anderson, Contreras travelled to New York for a meeting with his agents at the U.N. and to inspect DINA's operations in the U.S. with students and with corporations doing business in Chile. He also was there to give directions for DINA work against a proposed U.N. Resolution condemning torture and violations of human rights in Chile. As Contreras often inspects Ewing's overseas operations, according to Anderson, he visited Washington to meet with Lt. Gen. VERNAN WALTERS, Deputy Director of the CIA, and several other key individuals.

On the same trip, Contreras wandered into the offices of Senator Frank Church, of the Senate committee investigating the CIA, but could find no one to talk with. He then visited the House International Organizations Subcommittee, chaired by Rep. Donald Fraser, who has been critical of DINA, and was sharply interrogated by a staff member about human rights violations in Chile. Contreras responded with the standard Junta line that such charges were Marxist propaganda.

Shortly before the Contreras visit, another DINA executive was in Washington. The Junta's press officer, FREDERICO WILLOUGHBY (also a known CIA agent), came to the United States primarily for medical tests at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. During his ten-day stay, he also visited the CIA, the State Department, and several members of Congress. Curiously enough, GIORGIO ALMIRANTE, a leader of the Italian MSI was in Washington at the same time, visiting Walters and another member of the National Security Council.

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Other DINA agents have recently traveled to the U.S. Rep. Fraser recently charged that four DINA agents were seen by a member of the National Council of Churches disembarking from a plane in New York City shortly before the Letelier killing. He had no names. Who were they? The Melgoza brothers? Jackson? Bulnes? Ewing?

***

Before the coup in Santiago, Theberge worked for the Center for International and Strategic Studies *at Georgetown University, directed by former CIA executive RAY CLINE. While there, he invented many of the recurring themes of propaganda used by the international right wing against the Popular Unity government of Allende, including the false stories of a 14,000-man army of Latin American revolutionaries being trained in Chile. Many of his fabrications were reprinted in the CIA's* White Book *and also were reprinted verbatim in Chilean and Argentine military journals.*

In several of Theberge's articles he quotes as a source, "the brilliant Marxist EUDOCIO RAVINES." In fact, Ravines is a CIA agent. E. Howard Hunt, in his book Undercover Memoirs of an American Secret Agent, *reports that Ravines, living under an alias in Mexico City where Hunt was Station Chief in 1952, worked with him and his friend WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, editor of* National Review, *and then with the CIA. Ravines and Buckley wrote* The Yenan Way *for Scribner's publishing house.*

Shortly after Allende was elected in 1970, Ravines began writing for SEPA, *the CIA magazine edited by DINA agent Otero.* SEPA *was devoted to cartoons denigrating Allende government officials. It also carried propaganda oriented towards military officers and Catholic women, the two primary psychological warfare targets of the CIA.* SEPA *also carried articles by other CIA propagandists involved in the anti-Allende campaign such as ROBERT MOSS, who also edited* Vision *while it was in London. (Moss is currently writing for the* Institute for the Study of Conflict, *a CIA-funded think-tank in London. In a new book, Philip Agee will publish an entire chapter devoted to the CIA's master propagandist, Robert Moss.)*

SEPA *devoted at least two pages of each issue to CIA propaganda placed in such newspapers as* El Mercurio *and* La Segunda *owned by AUGUSTIN EDWARDS, one of the richest men in Chile. He is involved in the Junta government and is a vice president of PEPSICO, living in Miami. He met with Nixon and Helms on the morning of the 40 Committee's meeting to discuss CIA actions against Allende in the 1970 elections. Helms left the 40 Committee meeting that afternoon with orders including "make the economy scream."*

Both the Church Committee report, Covert Action in Chile *and Robert Moss's* The Collapse of Democracy *identify these newspapers as the principal recipients of CIA funds prior to Allende's murder.*

Psychological Warfare and Media Operations in Chile: 1970-1973, *a Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Illinois, by Fred Landis, a definitive study of the subject, reveals in enormous detail that the CIA hinged its operations against Allende on media operations.*

In his book, Robert Moss states that he and other journalists "were the nerve center of opposition to Allende." In another book by Ravines, The Rescue of Chile, *a whole chapter is devoted to "The Vanguard of the Opposition" as he terms such media operations.*

El Mercurio, *a Santiago newspaper which received CIA funds before the coup, was completely reorganized in 1970 by JAMES COPLEY, of the COPLEY NEWS SERVICE, who described this in his book* With a Mission To Chile. *Copley produced the world's first fully automated newspaper to suit the CIA's propaganda needs. His news service has many connections to the CIA not the least of which is it's chief news executive, "BRUTE" KRULAK, who directed the CIA's coordination of the Green Berets before joining Copley.*

GREGORY son of James, recently wrote that "high Soviet sources" revealed to him that the KGB killed Letelier. This is similar to the theme of the American Chilean Counsel newsletter and an article in the Rev. Moon's Rising Tide *by conservative Sen. JESSE HELMS, that the left killed Letelier. Copley currently edits* Foreign and International Affairs Newsletter, *a privately circulated paper often quoted in* El Mercurio. *The recent disinformation article on the Letelier assassination also appeared in other right-wing and fascist newspapers including the Italian* il Borghese, *organ of the extreme fascist wing of the Italian MSI.*

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE OPERATIONS

Incorporated in the cover-up and the CIA's efforts for a "narrow investigation" is the large network of CIA-controlled media that provides much of the disinformation to American journalists, who faithfully print it. The CIA's history with news agencies, newspapers, magazines and journalists in South America, Latin America, and the United States is long and tedious. The network went into full gear after the Letelier assassination to confuse and divert analysts and reporters.

In a speech delivered to a memorial rally in Georgetown, Guyana, in memory of the eleven Guyanans among the 73 persons killed aboard the *Cubana Airlines* plane, Prime Minister Forbes Burnham said that the U.S. was ultimately responsible for the crash. He revealed that JOSEPH LEO, an FBI agent who is the legal attache in the United States Embassy in Caracas, was involved with the plane bombing. Leo is also an official of the international police communications network, INTERPOL, which the September 1, 1975, issue of *World Jewry* accused of harboring Nazi war criminals in the past. The State Department admitted that Leo had helped FREDDY LUGO, one of the *gusanos* indicted in Venezuela, obtain a visa, to enter Puerto Rico in 1973, to cover a news event for *Vision* magazine.

Vision was published in Mexico until 1974, supposedly with CIA funding. After it was exposed, a *gusano* named GARCIA NAVARO purchased it and moved the operation to London. Navaro died last July of unknown causes. He had quite a criminal background, including a conviction for smuggling machine-guns into Morocco. *Vision* then sold most of its stock to **Ultramar** corporation, a front for the financial interests of Nicaraguan strongman General ANASTASIO SOMOZA DEBAYLE. *Ultramar* is involved primarily in shrimp fishing and boat building; like most of Somoza's financial interests, it is run by RODRIGUEZ FELICE. Felice, a *gusano*, was at a large rally of Cuban exiles in Miami in September 1976, shortly before the Letelier murder, where he demanded an invasion of Cuba. General SAMUEL GENIE, a confirmed fascist and director of Somoza's secret police, the *Officina National de Securidad* (ONS), is a close friend of the Junta's General LEIGH. They trained together in Panama, at the U.S. Army **School for the Americas**. *Ultramar* also has large land holdings in Costa Rica, a center of DINA operations, where Somoza has joint ventures with Robert Vesco. The *Vision* stock sale was arranged by the current U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua, JAMES THEBERGE.***

Theberge has written many articles for the CIA and contributed fabrications to the CIA's **White Book**, the major post-coup propaganda tool attacking Allende. Theberge works closely with another CIA agent-journalist named EUDOCIO RAVINES, who in turn worked closely with E. HOWARD HUNT, while he was Station Chief in Mexico City in 1952. Ravines began writing a column for another Chilean magazine, *Servicias Periodisticos Asociados* (SEPA), which was the CIA's psychological warfare organ, carrying coded messages to rightist groups like *Patria y Libertad*. A man named RAPHAEL OTERO ECHEVERRIA edited it

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THE FASCIST CANCER IN CHILE

The Junta faces problems today which torture and death by DINA cannot solve. Hunger stalks Chile. The average family in Chile buys less than half of the food needed to satisfy minimum food requirements. The inflation rate, according to the Junta is 400 percent, while World Bank figures put it at 600 percent. Sixty percent of Chilean households are in extreme poverty and suffering from severe malnutrition. Most objective economists place the unemployment figure between 20 to 25 percent—over 600,000 people—more than eight times the rate under Allende.

The deterioration of the Chilean economy is caused by concentration of economic power in the corporate sector, while the state concentrates on repression. The Junta maintains the so-called free market economy promoted by recent Nobel Prize winner Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago. This system encourages private investment; protects private property; encourages competition while weakening all but the most monopolized sectors. The Junta encourages foreign capital; seeks foreign markets; lowers tariff barriers; reduces the cost of labor; and frequently devalues its currency.

The system is clearly failing. The fascists, organizing among the middle classes, are criticizing the Junta center for allowing the corporations and particularly American corporations to freely invest and export capital, thus preventing the middle class entreprenuers from surviving. PABLO RODRIGUEZ of the indigenous Nazi party *Patria Libertad*, which has become a CIA paramilitary group and now a "recessed" political party, is arguing for "national rectification." He stresses that the state should emphasize programs to solve hunger, unemployment and social disintegration even if these policies increase inflation reducing the profits of the interests backing the Junta. Rodriguez proposes a pure fascist political economy promoting a right-wing Chilean nationalism less dependent on the domination of the U.S. He wants the Chilean state to dominate the economy and not just the repressive apparatus, and at the core of the state will be his fascist party.

The Junta and the fascists to their right are equally concerned about the anti-Junta trend in the U.S. since Congress cut off military aid in June 1976. The Junta recently declared they no longer want U.S. assistance; but behind the scenes the Junta has arranged for certain U.S. companies to buy record amounts of copper for strategic stockpiling in the U.S. The amount is expected to more than compensate for the loss of U.S. tax dollars if aid was cut off.

But even this measure may not satisfy those to the right of the military dictatorship. With dissent rising among the small businessmen, the fascists are also organizing among the middle level officer corps, which commands troops, in the military. It is possible that some of these officers could break with Pinochet and move to placate the growing public clamor against recent cutbacks and lay-offs of public employees. The possibility of a coup occuring to replace the military dictatorship model with a pure fascist political economy is very real. The Letelier assassination may be one of several acts by Latin American fascism to break with American capital.

during the years between Allende's election and the coup.

Otero, Embassy Propaganda Man

To Chilean refugees, Otero is widely known as an agent of DINA. He is currently the public affairs counsel at the Chilean Embassy in Washington. Within a few hours of the Letelier assassination, Otero instigated false rumors and leads on the bombing. He invented the story that Letelier and Moffitt died from a bomb of their own making. His rumors came so fast and so heavy that it is likely he knew of the assassination before it happened. Although he denies he is a CIA agent, he is widely known to be one of the Agency's chief contacts from Chile. The FBI has already questioned him.

In a similar circumstance, on the day that General Schneider was killed, Otero was the person spreading the story that the *Revolutionary Movement of the Left* (MIR) had killed Schneider. Later, when Jorge Melgoza was on trial for the killing, a synchronized media campaign blaming a non-existent left group called BOC was engineered by CIA agent MARIO CORNEYRO, editor of *La Segunda*, another newspaper that received CIA funding before the coup. Besides *La Segunda*, most of the publicity given to the phantom BOC came from Otero over *Radio Balmaceda*.

When the Chilean Congress apointed a commission to investigate the CIA'S $425,000 "campaign of Terror" plot to prevent Allende's election, its final report devoted an entire section to Otero. In the early sixties he was Santiago editor of Cuba's *Prensa Latina*, but ended up stealing all its equipment and records, for which he spent some time in jail. Shortly after his exposure in the Congressional report, the Chilean Journalism Association expelled Otero for spreading false information.

In early 1973, MICHAEL TOWNLEY, a CIA advisor to *Patria y Libertad*, and five members of a terror squad, attacked the Electrical Service Center in Conception, killing one guard. In the next issue of *SEPA*, Otero blamed the attack on "Marxist groups."

Two days after the March 1 Congressional elections, Otero declared in a nationwide radio broadcast that voting the left out of office was an illusion; then he publicly urged a bloody massacre. Otero's radio address of March 2 is reprinted in the # 112 *SEPA* titled, "In the face of Communist destructions, the example of Indonesia." He wrote, "The Indonesians freed themselves violently from communism. ... We will do the same as the Indonesians did, beginning with Jakarta." Operation Jakarta was the Junta's bloody operation against the left, executed by *Patria y*

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Libertad after the coup.

On July 26, 1973, Allende's friend, bodyguard, and Naval attache, Commander ARAYA, was assassinated. The civil police arrested and obtained confessions from eight members of *Patria y Libertad*. Otero blamed the assassination on Allende and *MIR*.

The last two issues of *SEPA* before the September 11, 1973 coup are illuminating. Issue # 133 refers to Plan Alba, which was revealed a year later by Gen. Pinochet in an interview with *Ercrilla* magazine as the actual plans for the coup. The September 10, 1973, and last, issue of *SEPA* carries the story that the CIA thanked the director of *SEPA* for his cooperation over the past three years, and for having faithfully spread all the CIA's rumors. It promised to pay for these services in dollars or Chilean currency.

Otero was arrested approximately 138 times for various crimes in Chile, and to gain immunity from prosecution, he ran for office. He was elected after a campaign featuring posters with one graphic—an armored fist and the slogan, "Vote Otero."

The Church Committee report, called *Covert Action in Chile*, deleted, at the CIA's request, the names of the CIA's operatives in Chile, but a reliable source close to the Committee has identified Otero as a principal recipient of CIA money between 1970 and 1973, including a large portion of the $425,000 spent in the attempt to block Allende's election.

Otero's mistress is LUCIA PIEDRABUENO, who, under the pseudonym PAZ ALLEGRIA produced most of the anti-Letelier propaganda over the past few years. She was Washington correspondent for *SEPA*.

On June 26, 1973, military intelligence in Santiago reported to General Prats, then Chief of Staff, that *Patria y Libertad* was instigating a rebellion at the 2nd Tank Regiment. Parts of the plan required a tank assault on the Presidential Palace. On the 27th, arrests were made and confessions obtained from military officers and civilians in *Patria y Libertad*. CIA media outlets, including *SEPA*, immediately launched a campaign to ridicule General Prats and the allegation of a planned coup. The next morning, the 2nd Tank Regiment launched the assault, killing 22 people. The July 4, 1973 issue of *SEPA* claimed that the tank assault was a "grotesque show" arranged by Allende to gain public sympathy.

From Washington, Paz Allegria wrote, "but what has most enraged the Chilean colony in Washington was *Orlando Letelier*! Making stupid declarations that make us look like a country of Nazis." After that report, Allegria began focusing her attacks on Letelier. She currently works for *La Segunda*, and also writes for the conservative magazine *National Review*. She was the first wife of the current Chilean Ambassador, MANUEL TRUCCO GAETE. Trucco once became a security risk when he lost a lot of money to a Soviet consul in Washington, and Allegria left him because of this vice.

Paz Allegria sits at the crossroads of two other propaganda communities active with DINA support for the Junta—the American Chilean Council and the private lobbying effort of the Embassy.

THE CHILEAN LOBBY

The American Chilean Council newsletter blamed "ultra-leftists" for Letelier's death. The ACC was organized in March, 1975, in cooperation with its Chilean counterpart, the *Consijo Chileno Norteamericano* (CCNA). The CCNA is headed by NENA OSSA, another writer for *National Review*, who has also concentrated over the years on articles against Orlando Letelier. The founding members include many from the families of the Junta government ministers.

The ACC is headed by SPRUILLE BRADEN and MARVIN LIEBMAN. Braden has large financial interests in Latin America going back before World War II. He received awards over the years from Latin American governments and right-wing associations including the *Order of Lafayette* and the *Gold Medal* of the *Cubans in Exile*. He is a member of Gen. Somaza's country club in Nicaragua, and is the author of *Diplomats and Demagogues: The Momoires of Spruille Braden*. In 1971 he negotiated the peace treaty settling the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay.

Marvin Liebman does most of the work at ACC. He has promoted right-wing causes for years; he once placed an ad in the *Washington Star* urging President Johnson to attack North Vietnam. Liebman is associated with the *Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations*; the *American Committee to Aid Katanga Freedom Fighters*; *Young Americans for Freedom*; *American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, Inc.*; *American Jewish League Against Communism Inc.*; *Emergency Committee for Chinese Refugees*; *Committee for the Monroe Doctrine*; *Christian Anti-Communism Crusade*; *National Committee of Correspondence of the Council Against Communist Agression*; the *Alex de Tocqueville Society*; and others. For years, Liebman has been associated with William F. Buckley's *National Review*, which published Paz Allegria and Nena Ossa.

He was a member of the U.S. Communist Party from 1938 to 1945. Then in 1951, he went to work for the *International Rescue Committee*, which has had CIA connections, and soon his extremist support of right-wing and fascist causes began.

The founding members of the ACC are prominent right-wing journalists, authors, intellectuals and educators, including Prof. James D. Atkinson, Mr. Murray Baron, Prof. A.T. Bouscaren, Rev. Raymond J. deJaegher, Ralph de Toledano, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Ronald F. Docksai, Amb. Everett F. Drumright, Prof. Joseph Dunner, Walter H. Judd, David A. Keene, Dr. Anthony Kubeck, Eugene Lyons, Myron Mintz, Norbert Muhlen, Stefan T. Possony, William F. Rickenbacker, Prof. David N. Rowe, Seymour Siegal, and others. Between them they have connections to practically every international rightist organization or government. In May 1976, they launched a lobbying effort on Capitol Hill against the Kennedy and Fraser amendments to cut off all military and economic aid to the Junta. Among the lobbyists chosen were MANUEL SANTANA, foreign affairs secretary of the Cuban exile youth movement ABDALA, and another *gusano*, Dr. Nohemi Labrada and members of the *Freedom Leadership Foundation*. ABDALA has received money from DINA; members of the

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Unification Church of the Rev. Sun Myong Moon, which is in turn connected to the Korean CIA (KCIA), now under investigation for bribing over 90 members of Congress.

On November 13, 1975, the ACA sponsored a rally against the U.N. resolution condemning violations of human rights in Chile. The rally held at the St. Rocco Church in Union City, N.J. was titled "Cuba and Chile Against Communism." The two main speakers were MARIO ARNELLO, the Junta's Ambassador to the Third Committee of the United Nations, a founder of the Chilean fascist party, and a world-famous right-wing personality; and one of the Novo brothers, alleged by some to be the murderer of Letelier.

The final strand of this intricate web of hate and murder is the direct lobbying effort of the Chilean Embassy in Washington. Besides the work of Ambassador Trucco and Otero, the former military attache, General ENRIQUE MOREL, was the chief person in charge of intelligence and propaganda.

Morel's network circulated propaganda, including letters written by Rep. Larry McDonald to AXEL SPRINGER, publisher of Springer newspapers in West Germany, JOSEPH JOSTEN, Director of F.C.I. News Agency in London, VALDERMERS KORSTS, President of the Latvian Federation in Chicago, and RALPH DE TOLEDANO, of Copley News, a nationally syndicated right-wing columnist. While they all have dubious backgrounds, it is Axel Springer who raises the most questions. The Church Committee reports that the CIA financed a major European publishing house; it is widely suspected, but not proved, that this publishing house was Springer's.

Morel's network also fed pro-Junta propaganda to NEIL SALON of Rev. Moon's *Rising Tide*; VICTOR LASKY, another syndicated journalist who produced propaganda for the ACC; PORTELL-VILA, head of the American Security Council; PHIL CLARKE of that organization; MACHAEL PADEV of *Pulliam Press*; and Paz Allegria of *La Segunda*.

Morel's aides also lobbied with contacts in "Conservative, anti-Communist, patriotic groups on a person to person basis" including the American Security Council, Accuracy in Media, the National Confereration of Ethnic Groups, the McDowell Luncheon Club, the Republican Heritage (Nationalities) Group Council, the United States Citizen's Congress, the Freedom Leadership Foundation, the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, the Heritage Foundation, the Order of Lafayette, and others; all of these groups support the Junta.

Morel's replacement at the Embassy is Brig. Gen. NILO A. FLOODY who carries on the same work and was also responsible for the whisper campaign after Letelier's assassination. Floody was director of the *Esquela Militar*, the military academy in Santiago, before the coup. In October, 1974, Pinochet admitted that the plans for the coup were disguised for the lower ranks in the military under the name "Plan for Internal Security and Reorganization of the Army" and were prepared at the *Esquela Militar*. Pinochet kissed Floody at the last class graduation and rewarded him for his efforts.

Floody moved to the La Riena district of Santiago, where DINA maintains its torture headquarters, the *Villa Grimaldi*, and ran for mayor. He once scheduled a PTA meeting, sending out flyers announcing that those who did not attend would be arrested. Immediately after the coup, he was put in charge of operations in the south of Chile, primarily to find the leader of the *Socialist Party*, Altamirano, who had escaped. With 3000 men, he closed the border to Argentina and began a mass round-up of those who had fled from the cities during the coup, turning all foreign nationals he found over to the Argentine authorities.

FOREIGN AGENCIES SHOULD GO HOME

Only a few days before the bombing in Washington, Congress gave the authority to the Church Committee to investigate activities of organizations such as DINA. Congress is the only official body of the U.S. government capable of conducting such an investigation since the Justice Department is dragging its feet. Such an inquiry should not be limited to DINA. Activities of other Latin American secret police operations in the U.S. should also be examined: the Brazilian DOPS and SNI, the Argentine SIDE, and Venezuelan DISIP, as well as the services of Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay which also conduct espionage in the U.S.

Congress should investigate the non-Latin secret police organizations too: the Canadian RCMP, British SIS, Germany's BND and BKA, Indian RAW, Iranian SAVAK, Taiwan's KMT, and South Africa's BOSS. They all maintain extensive networks stateside, harass exiles and students in this country, and sabotage progressive efforts to oppose political repression in their countries. But will Congress investigate?

Currently, over 90 members of Congress are suspected for taking bribes from the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA). Have they taken bribes from other secret police organizations?

We cannot reasonably expect a grand jury to investigate this matter either. Grand juries are used today to gather intelligence on the American left, not to protect First Amendment rights. Can we expect anything better from a Special Prosecutor either?

Other than occasional exposes in the media, the cover-up will probably obscure the connections of the CIA and DINA, unless public pressure forces the government to do otherwise.

And what of the FBI? All of the cast of characters from DINA and the *gusanos* were well known. The FBI once stopped DINA from murdering a Chilean exile at the U.N. in New York City. The Swiss police stopped a similar murder attempt in their country. The precedent is established. Is it possible the FBI could have prevented the murders of Letelier and Moffitt? Why didn't they?

But the question to answer is not only who killed Letelier and Moffitt. That is crucial. But a narrow investigation that only fixes blame on those who conducted the assassination will, at best, only find justice for the individuals, Letelier and Moffitt. We must ask the broader questions: who is trying to destroy Cuba, the Chilean Resistance, and their supporters? Only the fixing of the broader blame will find justice for the *cause* served by Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Karpen Moffitt.

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The Organization of Torture and Murder

Police quickly herded the blindfolded prisoners out of the refrigerated trucks and into the garage at 42 Londres Street. The trucks had been used to transport fish, but the prisoners did not seem to mind the smell. Another scent overwhelmed all others; this was the odor of fear and death.

Most prisoners would stay only a few days in this house before officials would transfer them to another detention center, but a few days would seem an eternity and, for some prisoners, it would indeed be a lifetime. The Santiago center has different names. Some call it the "Laughing Palace" in morbid irony. To most Chileans it earned its name from the evening cries, which can be heard from the third floor—the House of Terror.

After searching the prisoners, authorities tie them to their chairs, and in the long hours that follow, deny them food and only occasionally allow them fluids. Periodically they are carried to the third floor, where obviously disturbed and uneducated men question them. The interrogators are aggressive, especially against intellectuals or people who show they have an education. Their leader is a tall man, about 35 years old, who speaks with an Argentine accent. The other men call him "Che."

Most of the prisoners are beaten; a few are stripped naked and doused with water. "Che" asks whether the wet prisoners are cold. Just recovering from electric shock applied to their genitals, some of them nod "yes." "Che" grinds his burning cigarette out on their arms.

The house at 42 Londres Street belongs to DINA, the Chilean gestapo. This house is only one of many torture centers maintained by the Chilean Junta.

Chilean police and intelligence services existed before the coup, but the Junta has since built up the overall structure to better serve its particular interests. Six agencies work for the Junta today: **National Intelligence Direction (DINA)**; **Military Intelligence Service (SIM)**; **Navy Intelligence Service (SIN)**; **Air Force Intelligence Service (SIFA)**; **Carabineros Intelligence Service (SICA)**; and finally the **Bureau of Investigations**, which is the Chilean FBI.

DINA

On June 14, 1974, Pinochet created one of the most brutal secret police services in the world. Its influence and power would soon surpass the Chilean military and police units. It is the Direction de Inteligencia Nacional, the National Intelligence Direction or DINA.

Without DINA, there would be no Junta. It is the monster which represents the Chilean government around the world by brutally crushing the left in Chile and those who resist the Junta from afar; terrorizing Chilean refugees in Europe, Central American and North America. It supports the Junta in extreme right-wing circles throughout the world.

DINA was created by Decree No. 521, published on June 14, 1974. But DINA had actually been in existence since December, 1973, as a arm of Pinochet, to whom it reports directly.

According to the decree, DINA has three functions: to coordinate Air Force Intelligence (SIFA); to carry out Pinochet's directions according to the State of Siege laws and to gather all information necessary for the security of the state. Another article in the decree states that DINA was created so that "the Supreme Government may have the immediate and permanent cooperation of a specialized organization which provides it, in a systematic way, with the properly processed information required to adequate its resolutions in the field of national security and development." Another article states that, "it may request reports or any information which it deems necessary, from enterprises and services, requests which will not be limited by norms establishing secrecy or discretion about certain matters."

Since DINA's formation, it has used several private houses such as 42 Londres Street, as communication and torture centers.

Although DINA is subordinate to the SENDET (*Secretaria Ejecutiva National De Detenidos*) which is responsible for all detention centers, it maintains its own detention centers among the 60 to 100 torture chambers in Chile.

DINA is divided into three functional departments: information, intelligence and counterintelligence, and operations.

The Department of Information has trusted informants and information sources in almost all areas of civilian life including political, economic, social, legislative, and educational—and including unversities, professions, and sciences.

The Department of Intelligence and Counterintelligence has the primary function of gathering and processing information on international espionage directed against the Junta; it also carries out the interrogation of prisoners from the leftist Popular Unity parties and MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left.

The Office of Operations is responsible for covert actions, interrogations, assassinations, espionage, etc.

DINA also employs at least three major statistical groups. They are connected to the Information Processing Center at 11 Belgrade Street. The Center is equipped with computer terminals and specialized personnel drawn from the *Empresa Nacional de Computation* (ECOM). Shortly after DINA was formed, a private phone system was established between DINA centers and the Diego Portales where the Junta is housed.

At DINA's top is the Chief Board, directed by Colonel MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA, formerly Commander of the Military Engineers Regiment at Tejas Verdas, and his deputy, Colonel GALLEGUILLOS. The Chief Board of DINA holds a position of high privilege in the decisions of the Junta. It is especially influential in the decision to continue the present economic policies; to expel the Catholic investigators from the country; to prevent the U.N. from investigating human rights in the country; to relieve important generals and colonels; and to give Chilean territory to Bolivia for a passage to the sea. But in at least one decision DINA was overridden. This was the decision to recess rather than outlaw the Christian Democratic Party. All parties of the left have been outlawed, while the parties

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of the right including the Christian Democrats have just been recessed.

The operations department mounted autonomous brigades in almost all Santiago districts, which eventaully led to territorial jealousy. To overcome this problem, DINA consolidated the brigades into the Interrogation and Arrests Brigade (BIA) directed by Colonel MARCELLO MOREN, known as "The Bear." Its operations center is the Villa Grimaldi, well-known as one of DINA's torture centers. It performs functions for DINA in Santiago and possibly other cities. The information obtained is first checked by the BIA and then processed by the Information Processing Center. The BIA deploys several teams specifically against each outlawed party in Santiago. The BIA also directs the activities of the *Carabineros* which are divided between those who guard and transport prisoners, and those who only guard the Villa. The teams are divided into several operation squads that work out of private homes, which were once the residences of prominent leftists who are now dead or in exile.

DINA mainly recruits soldiers and members of *Patria y Libertad*, the surviving fascist party now recessed. Its personnel, however, are mostly civilian. WALTER ROUCH, the ex-Nazi who invented the technique for the SS of killing prisoners with exhaust fumes pumped into the trucks which were taking them to be burned, is a top advisor to DINA.

Suspected CIA journalist, ROBERT MOSS, reported in *El Mercurio* the major Santiago newspaper that received CIA funding before the coup, that DINA has approximately 200,000 agents and paid informers. One out of every 500 Chileans is connected to DINA in some way. In the military, the proportion is reported to be one in 15. DINA informants infiltrate all official services, cinemas, taxis, collective transport vehicles, bars and hotels.

The **Brazilian Department of Social and Public Order (DOPS)** and Argentina's **SIDE (Army Department of Internal Security)** advise DINA. Both agencies are believed to have been active in the coup. After the coup, many foreign nationals in Chile were turned over to their respective country's secret police.

DINA agents travel in Chevrolet pick-ups, Mini-Austins, Fiat 125s, Peugot sedans, MGs and other cars and trucks. They have every modern technological convenience, long distance microphones, micro-cameras, radio detectors, and other devices. Its agents' favorite weapons are Soviet-made AK-47s, Israeli UZI sub-machine guns, SIG rifles, Steyr and Colt pistols, (taken from guns sold from Americans to the *Carabineros*) and hand-grenades.

Since DINA began, it has engaged in five waves of arrests and assassinations; each wave was directed against a particular political group or groups, and resulted in the deaths or capture of its top leaders. The arrest waves rise abruptly in the first 60 days of each operation, culminating with the capture of the leaders. Activity drops off for several months before the next wave begins. The first wave struck the Communist Party and MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), the most organized post-coup resistance group. For five months DINA arrested over 2,000 persons accused of associating with MIR—at least 370 disappeared without a trace after interrogation and torture. This wave culminated in October, 1974 with the shootout death of MIR leader Miguel Enrique.

The latest wave of arrests and assassinations, disappearances and torture began in April, 1976 and culminated in May, several days after the May 7 visit of Treasury Secretary William Simon. Forty-seven persons, out of the 130 arrested, disappeared. During this period the Junta tried to improve its image by releasing 305 prisoners in conjunction with the Simon visit and the June visit of Secretary of State Kissinger, but an equal number of people were arrested and exiled immediately after these visits. Some of those who were arrested later were among those released before the visit.

Recent DINA operations appear to be against left-leaning Catholic clergy, in operations similar to **Plan Banzer** in Ecuador. (See **Plan Mercurio** in this issue). In August, DINA organized a demonstration against three progressive Chilean bishops who had been expelled from a church meeting in Ecuador. But unfortunately for DINA the bishops recognized several DINA agents; they were excommunicated. The revelation led to public outrage and the ultraconservative and CIA-linked *El Mercurio* ha request an investigation. The Catholic Church, through Vicariate of Solidarity, recently protested the "pub alarm" caused by the situation of missing persons. The protest took the form of a legal brief to the Chilean courts; the Supreme Court took no action and DINA picked up three lawyers who helped the group prepare the brief. One is still in jail. Two were expelled from Chile.

The only other time anyone inside Chile has denounced DINA was this year when Isolina Ramirez filed papers in the court of appeals, charging DINA with illegal arrest, torture, breaking and entering, causing serious injury and other crimes. This was after DINA arrested her husband Mario, everyone in their home at the time, everyone who appeared at the door, and the occupants of a relative's home. Even Enrique Alvear, auxilary Bishop of Santiago was held for three hours when he took medicine to prisoner. So far, the accusation has been ignored Isolina Ramirez's dignified resolve has made a stir in Pinochet's reign of terror.

SIM

The Military Intelligence Service (SIM) which was the most developed agency before the coup, actively prepared plans for the Junta. SIM participated in the attempted coup of June 29, 1973. It is believed to have been aborted because of communication difficulties between the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency agents working out of the Embassy as defense attaches with the Chilean military intelligence, and the CIA who work with the fascist paramilitary *Patria y Libertad* party, which participated in the coup exercise.

In the days following the successful CIA assisted coup of September, 1973, SIM concentrated on arresting high government officials, left party members and supporters. In mid-1974, SIM switched its focus to work inside the Army to prevent internal protests. Because of the current economic situation which affects many junior officers, SIM is again playing an internal role. Early in the Junta's reign, SIM agents wore uniforms and drove military cars, but later

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switched to plain clothes and unmarked cars.

Since the coup, SIM has been directed consecutively by generals AUGUSTO LUTZ (1973), JULIO POLLONI (1974) and ADLANIER MENA SALINAS (1975).

In September, 1974, the *Berkeley Barb* reported an unconfirmed story attributed to a Bay Area professor who talked with a former U.S. soldier who claimed to have participated in an American task force active during the coup as an assault team on the Moneda, the presidential palace. According to the report, the task force employed 234 Special Forces (Green Berets), 14 Army Rangers, and 34 CIA Agents who had been trained at Fort Ord and Fort Gulick in the Panama Canal Zone.

U.S. Special Forces may still be operating with the SIM in Chile. Rep. Michael J. Harrington (D-Mass) prepared a House resolution, and Edward Kennedy has put in an inquiry about the reported death of an American in Chile in the fall of 1974. A North American caught torturing a guerilla, was found with a SIM identification card. The card was issued to a CHARLES STARLOY. But efforts have failed to dislodge much informaton from the Pentagon on Starloy or other Special Forces actions in Chile. SIM continues to be assisted by the U.S. military attaches in Santiago.

SIN

The Navy Intelligence Service (SIN) was also in existence before the coup. It became notorious for repressing a group of constitutionalist marines in Valparaiso and Talcachuano. SIN works closely with the U.S. Navy Intelligence Command, represented today in Chile by the Naval Attaches. The U.S. Navy carried out joint maneuvers with the Chilean Navy during the coup in "*Operation Unitas*" off Valparaiso. Navy Intelligence Command personnel were on every ship and U.S. Naval Intelligence (NIS) personnel were seen helping SIN operatives round up prisoners in Valparaiso.

Since September 11, 1973, the Junta has restricted SIN to the provinces of Valparaiso and Concepcion, the Navy's First and Second Zones respectively. Generally, in these two provinces, the other intelligence services are subordinate to SIN.

SIFA

The Air Force Intelligence Service (SIFA) is most outstanding for its "scientific" and refined torture techniques. In 1973, its actions were important but limited. In 1974, SIFA fully developed its repressive capacity, and was soon considered the second most important service. Its staff is composed of **FACH (Chilean Air Force)** officers, junior officers and airmen. It is often assisted by *Patria y Libertad* party members. SIFA agents usually wear plain clothes. It has employed some air bases for detention, questioning and torture, but lately has used private houses. The main center for SIFA is the **Air War Academy (AGA)** and it also uses the confiscated house at 650 Marruri Street, which belongs to Arturo Villavela, a member of the Political Commission of the MIR. Villavela was a prisoner of SIFA [illegible].

During 1973 and early 1974, SIFA actions primarily focused on FACH including imprisonment and torture of officers and airmen who took a constitutionalist stand. In the late 1974, its operations concentrated on leftist parties, especially MIR. The Commander of SIFA, EDGAR CEBALLOS, is said to have developed a professional jealousy with the other services.

SIFA works closely with the U.S. Air Attaches.

SICA

The *Carabineros* Intelligence Service (SICA) is a recent creation. It was preceded by the *Civil Commission of Carabineros*, similar to police detectives. This early group worked closely with the Special Service Brigade (Mobile Group), a civil disturbance riot police, during the Christian Democrat government of Frei, before Allende. SICA is primarily in charge of guarding the torture centers and of transporting prisoners. It has confined political prisoners in many police stations throughout the country. SICA and the *Carabineros* receive small arms from U.S. companies such as Smith and Wesson, under licenses granted by the **U.S. State Department's Office of Munitions Control**. The Director of SICA is the *Carabineros'* Colonel RUBEN ROMERO.

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONS

The Bureau of Investigations, or civil police, became the fifth branch of the Armed Forces when it was placed under the Ministry of National Defense, during the first anniversary of the coup. Since the day of the coup, hundreds of detectives, accused of sympathizing with the Allende government, were expelled from the bureau and replaced with SIM agents. Under the pretense of "fighting delinquency allied to extremism," the Bureau has cooperated with the military and *Carabineros* in the arrest of thousands of workers in the popular Santiago neighborhoods, and other important communities.

Head of the Bureau is retired General ERNESTO BAEZA MICHAELSON, former chief of SIM. He is one of the creators of the repressive Chilean apparatus, and is a member of the Junta's **High Command Board**.

In the Winter 1975-76 issue of *Drug Enforcement*, the official organ of the **U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency**, General Baeza revealed something of the structure of the Investigations Bureau. Most of its work is now in suppressing narcotics traffic, which also provides a convenient excuse for anti-guerilla actions. The Central Office had its name changed on July 11, 1975 to *Departmento de Narcoticos y Drogas Peligrosas* **(Department of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs)** which supervises various Narcotics Brigades, the first of which was created in the north at Antofagasta. Operations are largely in the Antofagasta and Valparaiso regions. The DEA, which admits it works closely with the CIA abroad, and which has many former CIA personnel among its agents, considers its operations in Chile with General Baeza's men to be its most successful. The DEA not only trains many of Baeza's men in Washington, D.C. at the **International Drug Enforcement Training School**, but also participates in the roundups. The training school is located in Georgetown. DEA spends over $2 million a year to train foreign narcotics officers.

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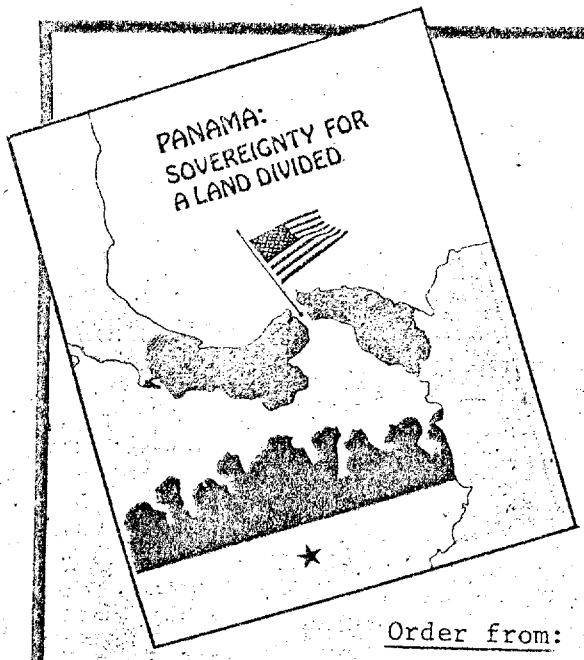

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Chile: Recycling the Capitalist Crisis, Vol. X, No. 9 (November 1976) NACLA Latin America and Empire Report, $1.25 from P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025.

MESSAGES

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continued from inside front cover

time rightwing organizer, including an organizer of counter "demonstrations" to SDS antiwar demos in L.A. I seem to remember that she also had worked either for Nixon in the White House or for CREEP at some point. A picture in the paper, which carried the item on the brides' page, showed her to be brunette, long hair, pretty. I wish I'd clipped it for you.

Marti Copleman
East Orange, N.J.

Thank you! The Spring issue of *Counterspy* arrived today. I started glancing through it and the next thing I'm scrunched down on my bunk reading every word. Now this is prison, today is my day off and the weather is beautiful outside and for a few hours I could have been laying on the grass talking and enjoying the small piece of freedom we have here. Instead I'm inside this concrete box with the door closed reading and reading—so you know how your publication grabbed me.

What else to say? Only that I would give most anything to talk with you. I doubt you could learn much from me, but now I have at least three million questions to ask. Is it that my experiences were unique —or am I unique only in that I survived as a thinking struggling human being?

Again, thank you for sending the magazine. If there is any way in which I may help you, please—let me do it.

Sara Jane Moore
Terminal Island, CA

I am rejecting the *CounterSpy* magazine from admission to the institution because I feel it presents a reasonably probable hazard to peace, order and safety of the institution, an inmate or employee thereof.

While your magazine may serve as analyzing news articles, it is the goals of the analysts that make the difference in the analyses.

James W. Mathews, Warden
RE: Armstrong, Karl
Wisconsin State Prison
Waupun, WI

Ed Sander's recent *WIN* article reminded me of you folks as someone who might have information regarding my most recent paranoid fantasy—which is that the Mormon church has become a CIA conduit for money, possibly for agents.

This idea came to me when I read in Howard Kohn's *Rolling Stone* piece that Robert Bennett is a Mormon—this after the Hughes' will surfacing in the church leaving them many millions.

The Latter Day Saints would be a perfect front—Right wing, American-based, immune to State investigations in Utah, first amendment protection, large amounts of unaccountable money, the missionary bit for information collection (after all, aren't two of the most efficient information gathering systems religiously based? —Israel and the Catholic Church?).

Do you have any other data to back this hypothesis?

M. Wells
Portland, Oregon

I have with greatest interest followed your studies and publications on the activities of the CIA all over the world. In spite of the huge amount of material I have seen on the CIA in various newspapers and periodicals I have not—maybe I have missed it—seen anything of importance from your side, on the possibilities of CIA-activities in Iceland. We have an American base in my country and some indications lead to the possible activities of your CIA in this country, as well as most other countries of the world.

I, myself, am editor-in-chief of one of the six dailies in Reykjavik, Iceland, *Thjodviljinn*, which means the people's will.

Svavar Gestsson
Reykjavik, Iceland

I don't know how I got the Spring issue of *CounterSpy* nor do I know how I missed it all this time. It is a most fascinating and informative work.

I was particularly interested in the South Africa material because I've just finished a book (six years of research) on the man responsible for organizing apartheid in this country. Sen. James O. Eastland of Miss. is the most powerful man in Congress and is known on the Hill as the unofficial ambassador for Namibia, South Africa and Rhodesia. I gave a whole chapter of my expose to this phase of his many nasty doings. It was his resolution in the Senate in 1968 that saved the South West Africa mandate for South Africa. He founded the apartheid (White) Citizens Council in Indianola, Miss. in 1954.

Should anyone be working on more South Africa pieces, you might suggest that they take a look at Eastland.

All of you have a right to be proud of *CounterSpy*.

Victor Ullman
Alstead, N.H.

We encourage readers to write to CounterSpy about the magazine, the CIA, your local police, right-wing activity, or any other issues of the intelligence community. We appreciate your support as well as your criticisms. Write: CounterSpy, Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

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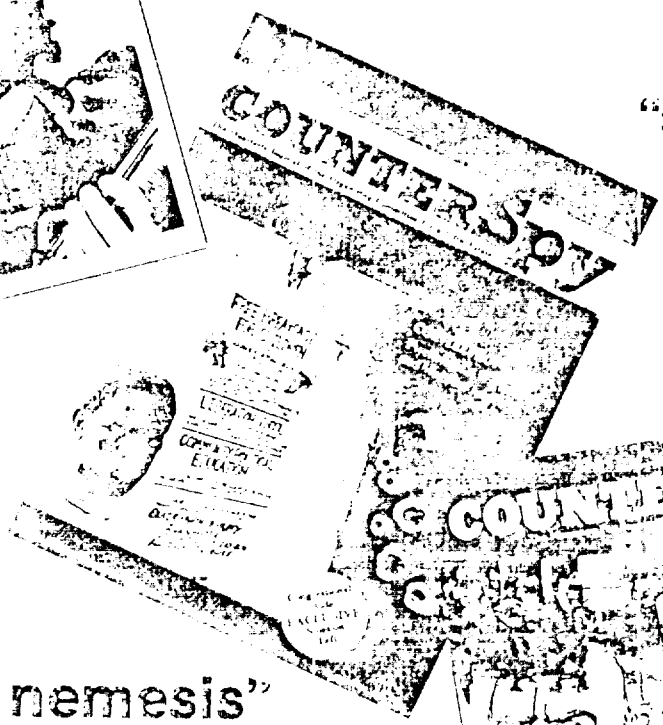

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